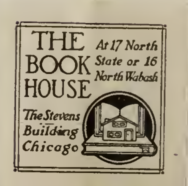



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EASTERN EXPLORATION

PAST AND FUTURE

LECTURES AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION

BY

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PALESTINE



PALESTINE

The political situation in the East as now developed, and the future possibilities before us, constitute, perhaps, the heaviest responsibility for historical study that has ever fallen on any nation. We may have in our hands the development of the sites of the greatest ancient civilizations, the parents of our own knowledge, learning, and religion; and it will rest upon us to settle whether we will preserve and understand that past, or whether we will deliberately let it be destroyed. There are no ifs and buts in the question; unless we take long-sighted and effective measures at once—this year—we promote the destruction of the history of past ages of civilization. When once the security of life and produce, without extortion, is assured, the rapid development of unworked lands is certain in the present age. We must not have repeated in Mesopotamia and Palestine the ghastly results of our inefficiency, which we have exhibited in Cyprus and in Egypt. Of the irremediable mischief and loss under British management in

the past, I shall point the lessons in the third of these lectures, when dealing with the difficult questions of future administration. In the present lecture on Palestine, and the succeeding one on Mesopotamia, the position of our knowledge regarding each period will be outlined, with reference to future researches, and what we may hope yet to learn from them.

The history of the intellectual endeavour of mankind, of the heritage which we enter on unconsciously and enjoy without toil, should be one of the chief interests of thinking men. It is the crown and flower of the natural sciences, the most complex product of the most complex of organisms. It is our own mental ancestry, and by its course it gives the surest anticipation of our mental posterity.

Recall for a moment the many forms of research which unite in forming a picture of mankind. There is first the skeleton of exact historical knowledge and chronology, necessary to give precision and effect to all the rest of the view. There is the most accessible product of man, his art, which tells so much of his abilities, perceptions, and thoughts, from the palæolithic ages down to our present. There is the groundwork of ideas and ideals, religious, political, and social, which depend almost entirely on written record. There is the great field of

economics: how much a nation produced, how the material was apportioned between different classes, what were the facilities of life, how far conditions depended on the energy of ability. There is the extent of knowledge: how science was developed, what power men had over the products and forces of nature. And, most nearly touching us, there is our inheritance of all this endeavour, how it has affected our own lives and surroundings. All this we demand to know, especially of those lands and races to whom our debt is the greatest. Babylonia is the mother of our commerce and our science, Palestine is the mother of our religious perceptions. It is these countries for which we require now a just stewardship of their past.

It will perhaps be the more intelligible plan if we begin our review of the situation by looking at the later and better-known ages to begin with, and then deal with the more distant past. The Christian period in Syria has left many beautiful buildings, in an astonishing state of preservation. The insecurity of the nomad raids on the empire of Justinian, culminating in the Arab conquest, drove out the population which bordered on the desert, and their houses and churches were left almost complete. The American University expeditions of 1900 and 1910 have recorded a large region full of buildings in Northern Syria;

south of Hebron I have walked through a town, still inhabited, where the houses were obviously Roman, and have seen a large hall with the stone roof still perfect over it. It will be said, if these things thus remain, they will continue without our help. They will not. The beautiful churches of North Syria discovered and published by de Vogüé half a century ago have been largely wiped out of existence by Circassian colonists, who quarried them to pieces. And are we less barbarous, when an Englishman boasts that in exploiting the Mareotis district he only needs to pull to pieces a Roman settlement to get enough material to build his new house? Are all these splendid remains of the early Christian period to be left as quarries for every squatter that takes to exploiting a free and civilized Syria?

In Galilee there are the great synagogues of Capernaum and Chorazin, built of marbly limestone, finely carved with figures of animals and fruits. Are these—the very buildings, probably, in which Christ taught—to be left to the mercy of the next needy settler?

Another class of remains, which seems to belong specially to the south of Palestine, is that of the mosaic pavements. There was a great development of these in the age of Justinian. The most important is the great mosaic map of

Palestine at Medeba, east of the Dead Sea, somewhat injured in the finding, but still almost complete (J.). Other fine pavements were lately found near Mount Nebo and at Bittir, near Jerusalem, the latter with each panel of the pattern bearing the name of a donor, like the pavement of the Cathedral of Grado (R. B., vii.). Other pavements with Christian signs and inscriptions have been found on the Mount of Olives, and near Hebron; others, again, on the road from Egypt, and near Beersheba. The latter was turned up by Australian soldiers when trench-digging. Nobly they did their unexpected duty, and spent nine days, continually bombed by aeroplane, while they carefully raised it, and despatched it safely to Cairo, to await their triumphal return to Australia. This is a most hopeful sign of the interest that intelligent men will take in preservation; those who will risk their lives over such work will not grudge a halfpenny in the pound on their taxes to save things from destruction.

An important work of the Herodian age is the Temple and Basilica at Samaria, recently discovered (H. T.). The temple was erected in honour of Augustus and the Roman State, with a statue for the worship of the Emperor. A long colonnade wound round the side of the hill to the Forum, showing that the taste for such civic

decoration—well known at Palmyra—was already at work. A hippodrome also marks the essentially Hellenistic nature of this resettlement; probably it was encouraged by Herod to choke the orthodox Samaritan worship, and to render that city the more distasteful to the Jew. The excavation by Dr. Reisner is an example of what should be done, in clearing every floor-level of buildings separately, such as three successive floorings in the basilica, each dated by coins, inscriptions, and pottery. The thorough clearing stratum by stratum was very fully carried out by Bliss and Macalister in the excavations of Lachish, Gezer, and other cities. Such is the only method by which the historical results can be secured. The opposite pole is the trenching through mounds, regardless of the direction of buildings, as has been generally the fate of Mesopotamian and Persian sites.

Further south a fine record of the rock tombs of Petra, the Roman camps and roads in Moab, the stone cities of Bosra and those of the Hauran, has been made in Brunnow and Domaszewski's three volumes of *Provincia Arabia*, 1904. The fulness of plans and photographs in this survey is final as to the general subject. They included a set of photographs of the marvellous carvings of the Palace of Meshetta in Moab—of the seventh or ninth century A.D.—which have since been removed to Berlin.

Regarding future prospects in Syria, we may still hope for a great deal from buried inscriptions, especially in the region of the Christian towns and churches which have not yet been despoiled. Nothing has been done in clearing up these buildings. Papyri and MSS. we cannot hope for, except where a building has remained roofed; but in a country where stone takes the place of wood, even for doors, there should be much to seek for amid the ruins. The whole south country should be sounded carefully in all sites to find mosaic pavements, so as to order their preservation, as they are very liable to be destroyed in erecting new buildings. Nothing has yet been done in excavating Petra or Palmyra; the work would be light, as there is no depth of earth to remove, and much might be learned of the Semites under Roman rule.

Of the Greek period a good deal has been recovered. Perhaps the most striking objects are the painted tombs of Mareshah, of the Alexandrian type (P. M.). The decoration with figures of animals, each with the name over it, shows evident connection with the animals and names in the mosaic of Palestrina. There must have been some common source, of a portable nature, for this painting in the Judæan hills and a mosaic in Italy. Perhaps the source was the illustration of Aristotle's *Natural History;*

no other such work is known before this date. These tombs were found in the extensive plundering and wreckage of the cemetery at Beit Jibrin by the natives. No check was put on this destruction; but, at least, no wreckage like this should be tolerated in future. The ancient city of Mareshah (Tell Sandahannah), excavated by Macalister (B. M.), has provided a complete plan of a Seleucidan town of about six acres. At Tell Zakariyeh a town of the same age, on the top of earlier towns, yielded a curious mermaid-like figure of the fish-goddess Derketo or Atargatis. She was worshipped at Hierapolis in Northern Syria and at Askelon, where there were sacred fish-ponds. A curious reference to that lately appeared in a papyrus list of temples in the Fayum, where one was to Atargatis Bethennunis; this refers to the fish-ponds of Askelon which were near the modern Beit Hanun, which place has evidently kept the ancient name. This would be an interesting site to examine, as we thus know closely where the temple of this Syrian goddess was placed.

In the ruins of Samaria a Greek town has been identified, with an inscription of King Demetrios. At Jericho Greek pottery has also been found (E.); and this flourishing age of the ancient world has doubtless left traces in most places of importance. At Gezer a group of tombs of the

early Greek age, about 700 to 650 B.C. (miscalled Philistine tombs) show just the same styles of things as in a North Syrian cemetery near Aleppo. Thus it is clear that in the seventh century B.C. trade had unified the general civilization from end to end of Syria.

What we should seek especially in this period is light on that great Scythian migration which made its centre at Beth Shean (named Scythopolis from the invaders) in the valley of Jezreel, near its fall into the Jordan. What kind of civilization these people had who swept across the early Greek world, what region they came from, how they stood to the natives of the lands they subdued, what became of these people who held all Syria for twenty-eight years—these are some of the questions which there is the best chance of solving at their main settlement of Scythopolis. The Greek period also includes all the restoration under Ezra and Nehemiah and the championship of the Maccabees. Any consolidation of the written record by actual remains would be very welcome.

Before this lies the main Jewish period, from the entry to the captivity, and much has been recovered of the age of the kings. The main result has been the unearthing and planning of two large palaces, Jewish and heathen. At Samaria the palace was traced in three periods

of building, which are well identified as of Omri, of Ahab, and of Jehu and Jeroboam II. (H. T.). Several courses of stone building remained from each period, one over the other. The earliest masonry—that of Omri—was massive, but not finely finished. Over it that of Ahab was of finer work, and was much extended down the western and southern slopes of the hill; it was well dated by an Egyptian vase of Usarken II., and with this were many ostraka written in a free cursive hand. This free writing shows the source of the cursive forms of the rock inscription of the Siloam tunnel. The general type of the palace was that of a single great building with large courts surrounded by rooms; this is much like the palace of Apries, which I found at Memphis. This great stone fortress and massive wall around the whole city made the place impregnable to ancient warfare, and only starvation could reduce such cities. After the capture of Samaria there followed an age of poor brick buildings in Babylonian style, and a city wall of stone facings filled in with mud, course by course. Such clumsy and poor work seems evidently that of the colonists planted there by Sargon, 720 to 670 B.C.

The other palace is that of Megiddo, Tell Mutesellim (S. M.). The walls were from three to five feet thick; not much was found except a fine seal with a lion, inscribed "for Shema

servant of Jeroboam"; this is, perhaps, the earliest Hebrew inscription. Over the level of this palace was a great temple built of massive blocks; in it were some of the vessels of the temple service. Above this, again, was a mass of houses of the age just before the Greek occupation. Many Egyptian scarabs of the eighteenth to the twenty-third dynasties were found here.

Close to Megiddo is Ta'anak. Of this a small part has been cleared (S. T.). The striking thing here was a hollow altar of pottery about three feet high, with air-holes up the front and sides, and with five figures of quadrupeds in relief on each side; the style of it is almost Mexican in its crudelity. It is assigned to probably 700 B.C., and may be due to some of the barbarous oriental colonists brought by the Assyrians.

The most complete clearance of a Hebrew town was at Gezer (M.). It is marked by the old Canaanite high place being disused, and built over with houses. The arrangement of the town was crowded and unwholesome, and its effect on the people is shown by the prevalence of diseases, as seen on the skeletons. The Jews entering Palestine from desert life do not seem to have understood town life better than the Arabs of later ages. Iron came into common use early in the times of the kings; and the growth

of mechanical means in other countries during that age is largely reflected in the tools found in Palestine.

The pre-Israelite worship was popularly continued during the monarchy. At Gezer the pottery figures of Ashtareth were frequent; and this agrees with the result at Beth Shemesh and Mareshah (Sandahannah), where the goddess appears at the same period. This is what might be expected from the defiance of the Jewish women to Jeremiah: "We will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, as we have done, we, and our fathers, our kings, and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem" (xliv. 17). The exclusive monotheism of the Jew is the product of the captivity; the period of the kings was one of mixed worships, in which there was only a gradual suppression of official polytheism, while in common life the people were as easy-going in their worship as their Canaanite neighbours. This tone is plainly seen in the Aswan papyri, where a Jewess named "Trust in Yahveh" swore by a local Egyptian goddess in a contract with an Egyptian. Akin to this was also the prevalence of the High Places for worship during the monarchy. Even the pious kings, who are

praised by the orthodox, did not suppress the local worships; and these are noticed in the special plaint of Elijah: "I have been very jealous for the LORD God of hosts; because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets" (1 Kings xix. 10). Thus the particularity of the later Jew about ignoring other gods and other centres of worship outside Jerusalem was a growth later than the golden age of the monarchy.

Other excavations of importance (S. M.) have been at Tell Zakariyeh, when an irregular fortress, about 100 by 200 feet in size, has six towers around it; also at Beth Shemesh, where a great city wall and bastions remain up to twelve or fifteen feet high. At Jericho it is remarkable that in the Israelite town the pottery was of the Cypriote style rather than the native Jewish (P. F., 1910). This seems to point to the Jordan Valley being more accessible commercially down the valley from Lake Merom and Tyre than it was across the mountains of Judæa and the wilderness east of that.

Little has been found of actual documents in this age. Two cuneiform tablets at Gezer (M.) only refer to business, in 649 B.C. One is a bill of sale, the other the sale of a field. The main monument of the royal period is the tunnel

and inscription of Siloam, probably due to Hezekiah. The account of the tunnel was only an unofficial graffito scratched on the wall, without any name or date; yet is it the main document of the kingly age. Its fate is a lesson to us. So soon as it became well known and much noticed, it was attacked and broken up in an attempt to cut it from the rock. The lack of any proper custody exposed it to destruction from which only fragments have been rescued, and pieced together in Constantinople. So will perish everything of value that is not safeguarded.

A most interesting picture of this age in the north of Palestine is preserved by the account of an Egyptian envoy sent to get cedar from Lebanon. In 1100 B.C., the midst of the age of the Judges, the Theban king was sending an envoy to Syria to get cedar trunks for making the boat of Amen. The envoy, Unuamen, was helped on his way by the King of Tanis, who provided him with a boat and sailors. At Dir, one of the Syrian ports, he was robbed of his pay-chest by a sailor; and the chief of the town acknowledged responsibility if the thief was of that country, showing a large regard for international law. After waiting some months trying to catch the thief, the envoy tried to return, but was taken before the chief. The interview was in the castle by the sea; the chief sat on a

throne with an open window behind him, letting in the cool seabreeze, and "the waves of the great sea broke behind him." The chief stated that there were twenty boats from Tanis in his port, and many from Sidon, showing considerable trade going on there. The chief demanded in return for the cedars six boats of Egyptian goods to be sold at the native dealers.' To check the assertions of the envoy about past transactions, the chief ordered the journals of his ancestors to be brought out, and found that £400 worth of silver (equal to many thousands in ancient values) had been paid by the Egyptians. This shows that full annals were kept at this Syrian port. Annoyed at the cedars lying on the shore, the chief gave permission for the envoy to take them if a present is brought. The envoy then went to Egypt, and returned in the next year with presents of gold and silver vases, leather, stuffs, and dried fish. Then 300 men and 300 oxen were supplied to drag the cedars down to the coast. Pirates came to the port to seize the envoy; he escaped to a queen ruling on the Orontes, and later travelled down to Tyre and Byblos. This papyrus gives an insight on the condition of Syria: the long-standing civilization of the coast towns, with regular annals, the respect for law, and the government rights over the forests.

Of this Israelite age there is a great deal still to be learned: we have as yet only a few samples. There was evidently much business going on, probably written on clay tablets, which might be recovered. There were also evidently annals of the petty states, which we may hope some day to read. On the Jewish history there may be much more underground than all we now have in written record. But we shall never recover it if digging is left to natives and treasure-hunters, such as the mischievous and futile expedition of six years ago. So far, what has been done about Jerusalem is almost entirely topographical. Fixing the positions of walls and drains and cisterns has been about all that is practicable. This is valuable work as leading to the right ground for thorough research.

Whenever it may be possible to bare large spaces in Jerusalem, through the great depth of ruins of all ages—the 80 feet of ground piled against the outer wall of the Temple area, or the deep mass filling up the Tyropœan valley—when that is clear we shall be able to reconstruct part of the city of the kings. The tops of the hills, Moriah and others, have been so repeatedly stripped of their buildings that probably very little can be found there, except lines of rock-drafting for foundations. The masses of material overthrown from the hills into the

valleys are the natural reservoirs of history. The houses below would be buried almost intact, the sculpture and masonry of the buildings overthrown should exist in fair condition in the rubbish. When Nebuchadnezzar and Titus wiped out the first and third temple they could not annihilate the stones; and they were too urgent in removing them to wait for the future builders who could use them up. The blocks were probably dragged along and heaved over the nearest wall into a sea of dust and chips below. There they would pile up too deep for future quarriers, and the materials of most of those walls are probably still lying in the valleys. We must always remember that the present Haram area is a Herodian production. All the south and east parts of it are built out on a system of arches, like the great platform of the Palatine at Rome. This arched space, supported by high pillars of masonry, is now known as Solomon's stables. The earlier form of the hill is shown by the rock as a long narrow ridge running southward; and this is corroborated by the artificial hill, copying the temple site, which Oniah erected in Egypt when the original Moriah was entirely desecrated by the Hellenists. Therefore, while the Haram area may show the outlines of Herod's Temple, it is the rocky ridge under the Dome of the Rock, and the slopes of

that east and west dipping down into the arched spaces, which would yield the emplacement of Solomon's Temple. It is a disputed question whether the rock under the Dome is the site of the Holy of Holies, or of the altars of burnt-offering which stood in the court of the Temple. It is hardly profitable in so short a sketch to deal with more of the debates about Jerusalem sites. As Professor Hayter Lewis remarked, when appealed to about some site, "There is nothing certain in Jerusalem." Whenever free excavation is possible, we may begin really to understand the history of the city in detail. This will never be done if the problem is neglected, and if Jerusalem is now left to grow on as a commercial modern town. The site is most unsuitable for business purposes; and much the best course, for practical and for historical reasons, would be to start a modern suburb and then clear ancient Jerusalem down to the Solomonic town, and keep it as the Jewel of the Past, visited by all, but appropriated by none. The problems of modern management will be considered further in the third lecture.

The next section of our subject is rather on influences than on a period. The products and effects of the Ægean and Egyptian civilizations in Palestine are of the greatest value historically; they are the means of dating the different

periods, and the proofs of connection of the civilizations. The absence of royal names in Palestine, and the paucity of inscriptions, makes the help of Egypt essential. The profusion of scarabs, beads, and other small objects; the precision with which these, and also pottery, can be now dated in Egypt; the facility with which they can be studied in publications and in collections at home—all these aids are of the greatest help in dealing with vague masses of ruin which carry nothing of local dating. No one should be thought competent to excavate in Syria who has not acquired a thorough knowledge of the historical alphabet of his subject.

It is natural at Gezer, on the road down into Egypt, much should be found from the south. A dozen tombs there (M.) contained duplicates of things well known in Egypt, dating from the Hyksos age to the early Greek time, but mostly of the period of Egyptian occupation in the eighteenth dynasty. The styles of pottery and objects found associated in these tomb-groups are exactly what we already know to be contemporaneous by our Egyptian material. The black pottery with pricked patterns is associated with alabaster vases like those of the twelfth to fifteenth dynasties, with a knife of a Hyksos form, and a scarab of the Hyksos King Pepa. The pottery known to be of the Thothmes

age all goes together with Cretan pottery of the same age. The so-called "Philistine" tombs—which have nothing to do with those people—are exactly in accord with Egyptian material of the seventh century B.C., and correspond piece by piece with the contents of a North Syrian cemetery near Aleppo. If we were to give them any ethnic name, Scythian would be as likely as any other; but these tombs probably represent the cosmopolitan usage of all Syria under the mixture of Egyptian, Greek, and Assyrian influences.

We must beware of taking objects as implying a residence of the makers. A cavern tomb at Gezer has been called Egyptian, because of the source of the objects; but as it is of the period when the Hyksos were thrusting the Egyptians southward out of the Delta, it is very unlikely that any Egyptians then actually penetrated into Syria against the northern stream. Objects from Egypt were naturally prized by the Hyksos, who adopted Egyptian civilization as superior to their own, and hence they traded the scarabs, beads, and jewellery back into their own country.

In the eighteenth dynasty period a large quantity of pottery, imitating leather work in its forms or decorations, came into use in Palestine and Egypt. It is almost certainly Syrian in origin, and brought back into Egypt by the plundering

expeditions which were then so frequent. Wherever it is found it serves to mark this period, just as the black pottery marks the age of the Hyksos. Besides these types there was a continual infiltration of certain Mykenæan decorated pottery, which shows the prevalence of Mediterranean trades (V.). How far a closer connection may be due to a Cretan origin of the Philistines is a matter of much controversy. In favour of that origin it is asserted that Cherethi and Pelethi are Cretans and Philisti; that Caphtor, the home of the Philistines, is the land of Kefti of the Egyptian records, which is assumed to be Crete, although the fullest and most careful study of all the material indicates Kefti to be Eastern Cilicia; and a figure of the Cretan frescoes is placed side by side with a Kefti man, to which there is no resemblance in any detail. Certainly the Caphtor-Kefti has nothing to do with Crete, though it may be linked with Philistines. Another line of argument is that Philistines are unknown in the Pentateuchal lists of the tribes of Canaan, and therefore came into the land sometime in the age of the Judges, which would agree to their being the Cretans expelled by the northern races breaking into Crete, and ruining the palace at the close of the Late Minoan II. age. The feather head-dress of the Philisti on Egyptian sculptures is like that of a head on the Phæstos disc,

On the other hand, it is warmly asserted that the Philistines were Semites. They spoke Semitic, as Hebrew and Philistine conversed freely; and their names are mostly Semitic. They were not merely foreign dwellers on the coast, but dedicated Saul's armour in the temple of the Semitic goddess Ashtoreth, and hung his body on the wall of Beth Shan, apparently Beth Shean in the Jordan Valley.

The derivation of Cherethi and Pelethi is explained away as meaning "smiters" and "pursuers," perhaps native Hebrew names for heavy and light troops. The Semitic speech is explained away as an adoption of the language of the new land by the Cretan settlers. The view which would, however, combine the greatest amount of evidence, would be to suppose the Philistines to be Semites from Kefti or Cilicia, who descended at the time of the attack of the Amorites on Rameses III., down the Orontes and Libanus trough into the head of the Jordan Valley to Beth Shean (just as the Scythians did later), and thence spread out over the rich coast-land, left devastated and defenceless by the Egyptian destructions. The Pelethi might thus be Philistines, and the only point dropped out would be the supposed relation of Cherethi to Cretans. But it cannot be said that any of the reasons are entirely exclusive or convincing.

A subject which, by its complexity, still needs clearing up is the painted pottery of Syrian origin. There was certainly an indigenous style of painting of animals and patterns before the Cretan influence; later this is modified by Crete, it appears borrowed on Greek vases at Defeneh and in Cyprus, and it continues in much the same style in modern times. The colouring is usually brown on buff. The most characteristic detail is the diagonal chequers, or an oblong divided diagonally into alternate light and dark triangles. Such patterns are entirely unknown in Egypt, except under direct foreign use; they seem to belong to Northern Syria; and much the same style appears in the first period pottery of the necropolis of Susa. Far more material is needed, with accurate dating, before this large section of the history of pottery can be disentangled. The whole subject of the relations of Crete, the Ægean, and Egypt, to the civilizations of Syria is one of the most pressing for future research, as on it rests the relative dating of all Syrian archæology, and the tracing of the connections of this group of countries.

Before the above period there are certainly two great divisions of history: (1) The bronze-using, artistic, high civilization which was prized by the Egyptians on their conquest of Syria under Tehutmes III.; and (2) the earlier neolithic cave-

dwellers who occupied most of the important sites to begin with. The Bronze Age people were Semites, and it is agreed that they were the Amurru of Babylonian records (K. B.). Similarly the Amorite is used in the Book of Genesis as the typical name of the native occupier; "the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full" (xv. 16); in Judges "fear not the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell" (vi. 10); in 1 Samuel, after getting the Philistine cities, "there was peace between Israel and the Amorites" (vii. 14). This use of the name Amorite collectively for the headship of the Syrians, including all the aboriginal and sub-tribes that they ruled, is what is seen also in Egyptian records, where only two great Syrian peoples are figured on the monuments, the Amorites and the more northern Hittites. The same usage is seen among us: the general name English includes all the divisions of the Heptarchy, the Jutes, Saxons, and Danes, as well as the earlier Cornish and Cambrian Britons. So in the same manner we cannot do better than keep the Babylonian, Hebrew, and Egyptian usage, and term the pre-Israelite Semites all together as Amorites. The Canaanite who is named as a leading people along with the Amorite is a term best reserved for the neolithic troglodytes, the aborigines of Canaan.

This great civilization of the Amorite Age was in many respects at a higher level than that of Egypt. The Egyptians brought much magnificent spoil from Syria in the wars of the eighteenth dynasty, and they also brought away the artists who made the gold and silver work, in order to command their skill in Egypt. The record of the plunder from Syria appears to show an ability quite equal to that of the Egyptians who took the spoil. This civilization was largely under Babylonian influence, all the documents found in Syria are in cuneiform, and the correspondence with Egypt had to be conducted in the same complex character, with a Babylonian secretary at the Egyptian Court to translate the correspondence and write the replies. All this strongly shows that the Amorite had been civilized in Mesopotamia before he trekked round the north of Arabia into Syria. How early were these Amurru in power? They appear about 2100 B.C., defeated by Hammurabi and his son Samsu-iluna (K. B.); and the name of the Amorite Dagon is compounded in Babylonian names as early as 2300 B.C., in Idin-dagin of Nīsin.

Now the Hyksos, according to their names, were Semites; and they appear to have come down Syria from upper Mesopotamia. Hence they were in the same line of migration as the

Amurru. According to Egyptian history, they pushed into Egypt about 2500 B.C. Hence it would seem that they were the front of that Semitic migration of which the Amorite was the rear. If this be so, then in the Amorite portraits we have the nearest representation of the Hyksos, for not a single head of those people has been preserved to us.

The actual remains of the Amorite period do not come up to the high level of the representations of their works; and naturally so, considering how little has yet been excavated. Even in Egypt, after an immense amount of clearance, very little has been found of the rarest class—gold or silver work. Hence we must not judge of the ability of the people by the residue left after the country was thoroughly plundered for generations.

The fortification of the cities is best shown by Jericho (E.), where the wall is still 26 feet high and 11½ feet thick, based on great blocks a couple of yards long and a yard high. Other city walling is found at Megiddo, Gezer, Tell es Safy, Lachish, and other sites.

The distinctive differences from the neolithic people are that the Amorites used bronze, and also full-length burial in place of the earlier burning (V.). In the cave under the sanctuary of Gezer the lower or Canaanite burials are all

burnt; the upper or Amorite burials are carefully interred. This custom of interment in caves under the sanctuaries probably gave rise to the idea of the dead being called up by enchantment out of the earth, as in Samuel's appearance to Saul; and this was done by a woman who professionally had a familiar spirit, probably the priestess of such a sanctuary.

The main objects in a sanctuary were the *masseboth* pillars of unhewn stone (V.), placed always in a straight line, or very nearly so, never in a circle. The number varies from three to eight; the direction of the line is north and south in two sanctuaries at Gezer, and one at Megiddo; it is east and west at Beth Shemesh and in the three stones of Tell es Safy. Such a type of sanctuary is known elsewhere. On a relief from Susa (Louvre) a holy place is figured as having two high altars with steps, a flat altar, two rows of four cup hollows (like those in Palestine), two oblong lavers (like those at Serabit), and a row of three lopped trunks of trees and a stone pillar all in a line, parallel to the length of the sanctuary, as in Palestine (V.). This would stamp the *masseboth* as Amorite rather than neolithic Canaanite. In the West such rows of unhewn monoliths are frequently found, as in England at Boroughbridge (Isurium), and Rollright stones. Some link with the East is not impossible; the

Semites erecting such sanctuaries passed round the east of Anatolia about 2500 B.C., where the Aryan peoples worshipping Mithra were known rather later. This Mithra worship certainly travelled westward to the Atlantic, and it would be possible for a previous form of worship to be brought in 1,000 or 1,500 years across Asia Minor and Europe by the Bronze Age migration. We need now an exhaustive search for *masseboth* from Syria westwards.

In connection with the sanctuaries are the burials of infants, of which there was a layer buried in jars below the row of *masseboth* at Gezer, and in a corner of the sanctuary at Megiddo. The Semitic gods undoubtedly were connected with reproduction, which was rightly looked on as a holy function; hence came the connection of reproduction with the temples in Babylonia, a custom which even lingered among the Russian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre in modern times. It was natural, therefore, that the first-fruits should be given to the god, as in Phœnicia and Carthage, or redeemed as by the Israelites. The whole system is eminently logical, but mistaken as most logic is when applied to human affairs.

Another branch of human sacrifice was the burial of a child, or an adult, under a foundation. At Gezer infants were found buried under the

walls and under the thresholds; the skeleton of an old woman was found in one corner of a building; elsewhere the upper part of a youth was found deposited. At Megiddo there was the sacrifice of a girl at the foundation corner of a large tower (P. F., 1906). Similarly at the Labyrinth in Egypt, in a sand-bed on which a building had been erected, there was the skeleton of a woman, between thirty and forty years of age, the spine divided in the middle, and one vertebra turned round, and the skull separated 17 inches from the body and turned round. Under another corner of the same building lay the leg and foot of an old arthritic man. Again, under the corner of a fort at Retabeh in the Wady Tumilat (Rameses) was a brick grave containing the body of a small child. Such burial in a foundation is well known in the West, as in the legend of Merlin and a curious reference in the life of St. Columba. The later substitute for the human sacrifice was the extinction of a lighted lamp, which is found covered over by a bowl beneath doorsills and foundations.

One of the most promising prospects in Palestine is the finding of a library, or archives, on clay tablets. Since the series of the cuneiform letters at Tell Amarna, there have been great hopes of recovering the other correspondence on the other side. Clay tablets will last for

ever if not crushed, and no one will steal them; hence it seems certain that there must be a large amount to be found in all the rich and flourishing cities of the Amorite Age. So far, however, the prizes have eluded the search; one letter of Zimrida, the governor of Lachish, and a dozen letters in a jar at Ta'anak, are about all yet found of this literary age. There seems no reason why hundreds of documents of the greatest historic interest should not be found in any large town. We need complete clearances on a wide scale, with well-instructed workmen and large reward for objects, to make sure of not losing the most precious results. A weakly managed excavation is much worse than leaving the ground undisturbed for future exploration.

Of this greatest period of art and civilization in Palestine, never exceeded on a native basis, we need to recover all that can be found. Each of the great city sites should be thoroughly cleared, and managed by directors who can fully discriminate the ages of everything that they find, and can thus read the history disclosed as the work proceeds.

We go back now to the earliest civilization, that of the neolithic people, who are best termed Canaanites, as inhabiting the land of Canaan. *Kan'ana* is the name of the country in Egyptian;

all other designations—Amorites, Philistines, etc. —are the names of people who entered the country, and "the land of" such tribes has to be specified for their territory. Thus Canaanite is the proper designation of the aborigines.

It appears that the *masseboth* sacred pillars (V.) were of Semitic introduction. The fact of a layer of two or three feet of infant burials in jars covering the High Place of Gezer, beneath the *masseboth*, proves that they do not belong to the first sanctuary. At Beth Shemesh the overthrown pillars were found in the Israelite stratum, next to the surface. The Canaanite worship is represented by the rocks with groups of cup hollows, over or close to a burial cave, such sites being later continued as sacred, and transformed by the Semitic erection of *masseboth*. Usually these cups are cut in the surface of the native rock over a cave, sometimes cut in blocks laid over a burial trench, sometimes they have a drain cut to lead the drink-offering down into the burial cave, sometimes they are cut upon a *masseboth* stone (V., 254). It seems evident that they were to receive liquid offerings, water, milk, oil, wine, or blood, and that these offerings were for the dead in the cave, or for the god represented by the stone. This system of offering to the dead is a natural type in a rocky country, like the same system found in Egypt, where a

block of stone with a little tank cut in it, and a drain from that to the ground, is the regular place for offering at any tomb of importance. Even under Islam the Egyptians always bury in an artificial cave, and sometimes a small opening leads down to the cave, where the living may come and talk to the dead. Cup hollows are well known in Western lands, but how far they are connected with offerings to the dead has not been traced. That several cup hollows should be cut close together, up to as many as three dozen (Tell es Safy), is quite to be expected, as the members of one family would not wish that their offering should be appropriated by that of another family being poured over it. Each family that offered would desire a separate cup, which could be pounded in the soft limestone without much labour. Where cups are connected by channels they probably represent the families of dependants, the surplus of the master passing on to his servants' offerings. Thus the cup hollows in the sacred place may be taken as the earliest form of census of the heads of families.

In the sepulchral cave it appears that the burning of the body was performed in place, as it was often reduced to ashes of bone or a mere white powder, which could not have been well brought in from a crematorium. The classical burning in the open air left bones sufficiently distinct

for them to be gathered up and placed in a jar; but the burning in a cave kept the heat in, so that complete calcination resulted if the fuel sufficed.

These neolithic Canaanites made a rough pottery, which is found placed for food vessels with the burials. Simple and ugly jars with two small handles, plain basins, and cups, do not show any resemblance to Egyptian styles, and are probably entirely native in origin. The people were agricultural, and not merely pastoral, as is shown by the number of stone grinders for corn. Cooking was probably done by hot stones, as piles of pebbles, many burnt, are found in the settlements. A people using skin and wood vessels, as has also been the case in the Jewish Age, would naturally need to cook by hot stones, an easy and cleanly method. The artistic attempts of this age were much on a level with those of neolithic people in the West, like the Spanish and French figures associated with rude stone monuments. It was a great decline from the fine carving of the late palæolithic cave men.

Thus the interest of the Canaanite period is partly as a crude basis for the later Semitic Amorite civilization, and partly as a stratum of life very similar in many ways to the Neolithic Age of the West. To uncover and connect this similar culture in different lands, to trace its

lineage with the earlier and later works of man, and to ascertain how far it was contemporary in different places, is one of the main tasks of archæology. At present we see vaguely this crude style of life occupying Syria, Anatolia, Northern Greece, and Western Europe, overcome by the brilliant Mediterranean culture of Crete and Egypt, and the Elamite and Mesopotamian in the East. What were the fluctuations of the great conflict between barbaric weight and comfortable decadence, the sack and burning of accumulated well-being, the conquests over barbarous hordes brought into the brighter circle of life, how the battle of ages swayed to and fro, it is the work of history to trace out. In this research certainly the neolithic Canaanite, wedged between Egypt and Elam, is a figure as interesting as any that we know.

There yet remains another large field of observation in the geologic history of man in Syria. The successive ages of cold and rain, or ice, alternating with warm and favourable periods, and the changes of level, are as marked in Syria as in Europe or Egypt. The high mountain masses, the deep valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea, give a favourable region for preserving traces of these changes and studying them. The subject has scarcely been touched yet in a comprehensive manner, and on such an excellent

region for study much ought to be done. So far the innumerable caverns of the limestone of Palestine have only yielded burials of historic ages; but they are a most promising field for earlier remains, especially in connection with the physical conditions of the country.




MESOPOTAMIA



MESOPOTAMIA

Mesopotamia, like other fertile valleys, has always been the prey of the more hardy peoples around it. The Turk has been the last holder, the Arab before him, the Roman, the Parthian, the Greek, the Persian, the Assyrian, the Kassite, the Semite, and remotely the Sumerian, each descended in turn on the Babylonian plain. With a kind of Chinese persistency the civilization of that plain dominated each of its conquerors; the art and the literature of the Sumerian was adopted by all his early successors, the science and business which grew up there is the foundation of the science and business of the whole world now. Even down to the Middle Ages the most scientific work on the balance was written by a Mesopotamian archbishop. The old Sumerians were the main traders in Memphis in the Greek period. It follows that when we consider Mesopotamia we must take into account the foreign influences which were poured into it on all sides.

In most periods it is the eastern highlands of Persia that have had the main effect. Before

the domination of Islam it was the long struggle of centuries between Persia and Rome that writes the history of the great plain that parted them—the rich prize that both coveted. That struggle was with two successive races ruling in Persia, the Iranian Sassanians for four centuries from A.D. 226 and the Scythian Parthians for five centuries before that from 250 B.C. Our view of the greatness of Persia and its splendid civilization has been unfortunately clouded by our dependance on the accounts of its enemies, Rome and Greece. If we could have as full a record on the Persian side, we should learn to feel that Mesopotamia was the natural appanage of the mountains that towered on its eastern border; and that the intruders from Italy, nearly two thousand miles away, had no place on the Euphrates, however much they might claim in the Mediterranean.

Of the Sassanian empire our estimate must be mainly from its political power and its artistic work. When, in the third-century collapse of Rome, Shapur I. entered Antioch and appointed a Roman, Cyriades, to rule the Roman border as a satrap of his, he was doing his best for the country. The attack by the Emperor Valerian, who capitulated at Edessa, and lived a captive ever after, did not mend matters. Persia took possession of all the East, and even the Taurus in

Anatolia, though finally Shapur was worried back by the Arabs of Palmyra. Their defensive service to the Roman world was basely repaid by Aurelian's destruction of Palmyra, and capture of the heroic Zenobia. The huge rock-cut monuments (D.) which show the greatness of Shapur are of excellent work, equal to good Hellenistic carving, and above what Rome could do in that age. The coinage of the Sassanians is quite equal to that of Rome in the third century. We want to know much more of this age, in order to trace the effect of Persian art on the West. In small work there is part of a splendid cameo, much finer than anything that the West was then doing. The clearance of the palace ruins of this age, especially the search for the rubbish-heaps, would bring to light much to explain the later Roman period. The style of the rock-cut monuments is evidently inherited from the early Persian Age, but it has much affinity with the Buddhist sculptures of further Asia. Which was the controlling influence, Persia or India? Persia continued as a great world-power, warring with India as well as the West, defeating Julian, beating back the Ephthalite Huns, conquering Syria, until at last, when weakened by guarding civilization in the East, it was conquered by Heraclius, and the fatal struggle of the two powers of civilization left both

of them a prey to the barbarous Arabians of Islam. Dieulafoy traces the whole of Western dome and vaulting architecture to the Persian building, which was carried westward by the Arab conquerors. However this may be, it is certain that we shall never understand Western art until we can clear up the filiation of the various principles of construction and of decoration, which started in the East. The great ruins of palaces and of towns remaining in Mesopotamia provide the best ground for such research, as at Meshetta, Rabbath Ammon, or Arak el Emyr. Only the standing buildings have yet been studied; the whole soil should be carefully turned over, and everything preserved. Such places have the great advantage of having been founded *de novo* by a king, and deserted soon after, hence everything in them will probably be dated within half a century. The other important sites of Nisibis, Dara, Ctesiphon, Firuzabad, and Nishapur all require full excavation.

We step back a stage to the Parthian dominion. When those Scythian warriors broke in on the feeble Hellenism of the distant Seleucid province of Persia, in 250 B.C., they were hardy barbarians. They kept up their power by the Turkish system of janizaries, the army being the bondmen of the ruling caste. The empire was on the basis of a federation of tributary kings, who were heredi-

tary rulers of the different provinces; hence there was the fullest local rule at all compatible with united action. This great union reconstituted the Persian Empire from Anatolia to India. In conflict with the Seleucidæ the Parthians held captive Demetrius I. for ten years; later they conquered Antioch and Jerusalem; and they repulsed the Romans under Crassus, Corbulo, Trajan, and Severus. Thus they maintained almost entire their domination of Mesopotamia. The arts of their adopted country, and of Greece, were readily taken up; it was the *Bacchae* of Euripides that was being performed at Court when the glorious defeat and death of the greedy Crassus was proclaimed. It was the subjects of Greek mythology and history which decorated the palace, amid panels of silver and borders of gold. The domes were painted with celestial scenes of gods amid the stars. On the outside sheet-copper covering glittered in the sun. This Persian taste can be imagined from the last relics of it brought westward, in the Spanish domes of richly coloured tiles. The Parthian dominion propagated Persian taste, much as the Arab dominion did in later times. It is in the ruined cities of this age that we must look for the blending and borrowing of Persian and Greek art. Hatra would be one of the most promising places, for its importance begins with the Par-

thian palace; it lasted down to the third century, but seems to have perished with the Parthian rule, as it was deserted by the middle of the fourth century. Hence its ruins will provide a full view of the Parthian art unmixed with earlier or later work.

The first great Aryan dominion was that of Persia, as widespread as the empire of Rome, from the heart of Macedonia to beyond the Indus. In the civilized world there was the Peace of the Great King from end to end; this was the largest organization that the world had yet seen, and it has hardly ever been surpassed. In the fields of thought—justice and religion—it gave a higher ideal than that of any previous rule. There was the least possible interference with the various countries. The twenty satrapies each administered their affairs, very often by the old hereditary ruling families. The principles of management and of control alone were the business of the autocrat; and when that autocrat was by consent of his enemies the noblest of men, the result was a general welfare of the world which has perhaps only been equalled under the Antonines. So long as tribute and an army were maintained, no further interference was imposed; and in such a vast union these necessary burdens would be far lighter than the losses by

insecurity and war in any other condition. Like the Roman Empire later, the great means of control and unity was the road system, with its posting-houses and state couriers. The spread of a uniform coinage throughout the empire, giving a fixed standard of exchange, was another help to intercourse. The main profit of this great unification fell naturally to the Babylonian, as being the most advanced people commercially, and seated at the heart of the empire. The opening up of the sea trade, by the voyage of discovery of Scylax from Babylonia to India, was another means of advance directly benefiting Mesopotamia.

The civilization which Persia thus fostered was worthy of its position. The care for health was far advanced. At the time when the Greek reached the improvement of a ledge in his drinking-cup to keep back the grit, the Persian was boiling all the water-supply of the Court in silver cauldrons when on campaign. No modern sanitary service could do better. In art also Persia led the way. No Greek had ever gone beyond the primitive smirk in his sculpture, until the Persian art, sane, noble, and complete, in its feeling and effect, showed him a higher road. The influence of Persia must have been immensely spread by the vast loot of artistic objects in the camp of Mardonius, which served

as models, and by the flood of Persian troops left behind as slaves in Greece. On the narrowest estimate Xerxes brought in 300,000 men; of these 60,000 left with Xerxes, and Artabazus rescued 40,000 more; but of the other 200,000 there must have been a great number who survived, and became slaves according to the universal rule of Greek warfare. These would be mainly drafted into mechanical arts, which were despised by the free-born, and were limited to the great slave majority of the Athenian population. We see here the reason for the sudden burst of advance which Greece made in the fifty years from the Persian war to the Peloponnesian war, including all the greatest architecture, sculpture, and philosophy. This was to Greece what the sack of Corinth was to Roman development.

The main field for further research on the Persian monarchy lies in Persia itself; little seems to have been erected in Babylonia. The surroundings of Persepolis have never been cleared; and from the burning and the waste heaps of the great palace, of the most flourishing centuries of rule, there should be a large amount of artistic material waiting to be searched.

We now reach back to the later days of Babylon as a capital, the neo-Babylonian period of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus. This was one

of the most flourishing ages as regards commerce and affairs; and in the last few years the palace and throne room of Nebuchadnezzar, and the great walls of his city, still remaining forty feet high in parts, have been cleared and studied. A striking feature are the figures of lions, bulls, and dragons in coloured glazed ware, let into the face of the wall, with bands of rosette between them; of these protective figures, built up of glazed bricks, there were over five hundred (K. B.).

The temple, as in Egypt, seems to have been the house of the god, copied from a human house. There is always a central open court, and usually on the left hand, at entering, the shrine and its vestibule open out of the side of the court. Various store chambers for temple property are placed around the court. A curious feature in four temple plans is a long narrow corridor running along the sides. This has been assigned to a stairway, but there seem no traces of steps. Most probably it is protective, to enable guards to watch the safety of the treasure rooms at night, and to prevent breaking through the wall. Similarly at Tell Amarna a long, very narrow, passage ran in the thickness of the palace outer wall; by this four guards, with a light at each corner, could assure the safety of a large block of building.

Of the great movements of peoples, the Kimmerian invasion southward in 650, and the Scythian outpouring which followed in 625 B.C. —we need much more knowledge. Only the vaguest references are yet before us; and as these people were destructive rather than constructive, it will be difficult to prove much more. Still we may hope that some letters referring to this inroad on civilization may yet be found. Any examples of the artistic work of the Scythians would be very valuable, as all that we know in Russia is so mixed with the Greek art that it is hard to say what is local Greek style and what is truly Scythian. To get Northern work dated to the great invasion in the seventh century, before classical style had affected it, would be valuable for the history of the North.

The mighty power of Assyria, ruthless and scientific in its cruel rule, and hated by all the world, is already better known to us than any other pre-classical age. The great discoveries in the middle of the last century gave not only a popular idea of Assyria, but unfortunately fixed the name Assyriology on the whole study of Mesopotamian writing; while we now look on Assyria as the parvenu on the old business and science of the great plain. There is less call for research in the Assyrian period and land than there is in the other civilizations.

Looking farther back, the next large influence was that of the Hittites. Much has been gleaned about them from Egyptian and Babylonian sources, during a generation past. The latest and most important source is the great mass of many thousands of cuneiform tablets found by German work at the Hittite capital, Boghaz Keui. The question now most debated is whether various resemblances of Hittite words and grammar to the Western Aryan languages may show that Hittite is really akin to European speech (J. E., 1917, 190). The names and some other words are distinctly non-European, and the physiognomy is classed as Mongolian. Yet we now know that various East Aryan gods, as Mithra, Indra, and Varuna, were being worshipped on the Hittite frontier in Mitanni. The more generally accepted position seems to be that the Hittite language had been modified and mixed with an Aryan tongue. Whenever it may be possible to work out the great mass of tablets, now in Constantinople, the position will be clearer.

The source of the Hittites is not yet settled. While undoubtedly pushing southward, Eastern Anatolia has been suggested as their home. Yet the most definite evidence is the list of cities by whose gods they swear to the treaty with Egypt. These places are in Armenia, along the head waters of the Euphrates almost

to its source—a region which would agree with all other indications, such as their coming from a cold climate and a rough country. As early as 1920 B.C. they made a push down the Euphrates into Babylonia. Their later fields were down Syria into contact with the Egyptians, and westward into Anatolia. This spread shows that we may recover their history in various directions. The excavations at Carchemish (H. C.) have only touched a fiftieth of the area, and that only in the top stratum; but they have brought to light a couple of dozen slabs of sculpture, showing many details of that Hittite civilization, and a dozen long inscriptions. This is but a beginning, and it should be actively continued, for much had been broken up and destroyed in the last thirty years, since the trivial holes dug in 1880.

The Hittite sites, being mostly in the hill countries, are mainly built with stone; they will therefore need strict conservation to prevent their being all destroyed for modern building material. The search for the earlier settlements in Armenia should be thoroughly carried out before that country may be exploited; owing to its mountainous and difficult nature there is a good prospect of recovering the primitive Hittite style there, before it became so largely influenced by Assyria and other lands.

The cemeteries of the Hittite region have been greatly wrecked by the natives, after they were exposed in cutting the Baghdad Railway. Strict conservation, therefore, is an immediate question. The general results, just north of Aleppo, so far show that before the Persian period there was an Iron Age from 1100 to 600 B.C.; a Middle Hittite Bronze Age back to 1750 B.C., and an Early Hittite Bronze or Copper Age before that, with Sumerian cylinders (L. A., VI., 87). The still earlier Copper Age tombs are characterized by pottery incense burners like those of the sixth to twelfth dynasty in Egypt, with which they are probably contemporary. Globular vases also belong to that age, and to the twelfth dynasty in Egypt. These resemblances suggest that the foreigners who broke up the Old Kingdom of Egypt were from the northern Euphrates, in accordance with the indications of the button patterns, alike in Aleppo and Bismiya as in Egypt. There is, however, no proof that the Hittite tribes were in the upper Euphrates Valley in so early a period. The whole of the cemeteries of this region need careful and thorough research, with full publication of the types, registers of all contents of the tombs, and plates of the most complete tomb groups entire.

Contemporary with the earlier Hittite period

was the Kassite dominion in Babylon. This was the first appearance of an Aryan people as rulers, and therefore is of great interest historically, and as the forerunner of the European domination. They were probably akin to the Mitanni people, who stretched across the north of the plain from river to river, above Aleppo. They appear as a simple people, of ruling capacity, who adopted readily the Babylonian civilization. They showed ability as successful rulers, and were adapters rather than originators. They arrived from a rather long migration, as they brought in the common use of the horse; had that animal been anywhere near Babylonia before, it would have arrived in the active mercantile business of the previous civilizations, instead of being known only as a great rarity. From their movement southward with the horse, about 1800 B.C., that animal reached Egypt a century or two later.

Historically our main knowledge of these people is by their long correspondence with the Egyptian kings about 1400 B.C. The mass of letters found at Tell Amarna in Upper Egypt has provided material for discussion for a generation past; it has given a clear view of the relations of kingdoms, of the commerce in progress, and of the activities of the different countries. It shows how the Euphrates region

was under extensive rule from Babylon, along with kings of the Hittites, of Mitanni, of Assyria, and of Alashiya or the Orontes Valley, occupying the upper region of the rivers. In contrast to this, Syria was divided in a multitude of petty city states, without cohesion or power to resist the successive inroads of greater rulers on different sides. This difference may be due to the geographical condition of a broken and mountainous country in contrast to the great homogeneous plains of the Nile and the Euphrates. In later times the Seleucid Empire was by no means solid, for Syria was continually being seized from Antioch or from Memphis, according to whichever ruler was the more able. There is a strong historical parallel between the Kassite and the later Parthian power. Both spoke the Aryan tongue; both worshipped Mithra and the sacred fire; both owed their power to the bow and to national horsemanship; neither race had any marked culture of their own, but readily adopted the Babylonian civilization; and both were distinguished by success in strong and able rule, which was readily accepted by their subjects. As, moreover, the interval between them is 1,500 years, they are in similar parts of successive cycles of civilization, like the two Semitic conquests of Africa and Spain by the Phœnicians and the Arabs. We need now extensive working

in cities of this period, not only of Babylonia, but of the more northern region, where we may expect to find tablets of correspondence between states, similar to the set found at Tell Amarna. Perhaps it may be thought that such tablets may be trusted to turn up if found by natives. But what was the history of the Amarna correspondence? Found by accident, some of it was bought by a dealer; he could not sell the tablets, they were sneered at as forgeries; at last the group was tumbled into a sack and jolted on donkey-back up to Thebes, with great loss. It was two or three years before they reached the hands of those who could appreciate what survived. This sort of martyrdom of history should be forestalled by active inspection, good payment to attract discoveries, and careful excavation. Could we build up a clear view of the condition of the East, in the ages which laid the foundation of the early Classical period, we should understand the meaning of the turmoil of the Hellenic world far better.

Looking farther back, we find firm historical ground in the grand age of Hammurabi of Babylon, 2123 to 2081 B.C., and Gudea of Lagash, about 2450 B.C. (K. B.). Here we are lighted by three different sources—the art, the correspondence, and the laws. From these we can realize a great deal of how life went on, and the con-

ditions of mankind. The style of the sculpture is by no means primitive. On the contrary, it is conventional, settled in its character, not rejoicing in pomp like the Assyrian, or of individual vigour like the Sumerian. It fits the age as that of a civilization which was fully grown in material prosperity, having outlived the ferment of ideals. The correspondence of Hammurabi shows us the king as supreme referee; any official difficulty was referred to him, any defeated litigant could appeal to him, in person if near, or to royal deputies if at a distance. The supervision of the details of a great kingdom to such an extent seems almost incredible, as much so as Trajan's letters to Pliny, from which it appears that nothing could be done to a sewer or a cemetery in all the Roman Empire without the personal reply of the Emperor. To us this intense centralization is difficult to realize, we should feel it an intolerable bondage; but to a people who did not originate much, the personal direction saved their decision and ensured harmonious working. Hammurabi was mainly engaged in keeping his bureaucracy in order. Every case of bribery which reached his notice seems to have been rigorously investigated; such is the first duty of a ruler in most countries, both East and West, a duty which we have much neglected. In Egypt at the present time the

extent of incessant fraud by bribery is incredible till experienced. Another royal care was that of Food Director, equalizing supplies in case of local deficiency, a function of which we know the necessity in India. In another direction the king had a function which elsewhere is usually priestly—the regulation of the calendar. The astronomers, who were employed to observe the new moon in order to fix the month, reported directly to the king; and it was the decision of the king which settled the intercalation of an additional month to preserve the relation of the months to the seasons. This device of an additional month, by people who use a natural lunar month, is familiar to us in modern usage in the Muhammadan Calendar.

The great glory of Hammurabi is his codification of laws, which has come down to us nearly entire, upon his monument that was afterwards carried away to Susa, where De Morgan found it in fragments. So much has been written upon this code, that I will rather notice some less familiar aspects of it. Like other codes, the range and detail of the laws give a precise view of the society of the age. The relative importance of different interests is shown by the number of laws concerning each. Broadly speaking, there is about equal attention to the four subjects of Agriculture, Trade, Women and the family, and Personal

condition, while less than half of such importance is given to the law of Official position, and also to general property. The distinctive tone is that of town life, and of the country as contributory to that. If we compare for a moment tribal law as in the Welsh codes, either the earlier of Moelmud or the later of Howel, it is the country life that pervades the whole of those, and town life is absent. If otherwise we compare the Babylonian with Roman law, it is entirely concrete and pragmatic, and knows nothing of the lengthy principles of status which were elaborated in the West. If in another direction we compare Indian law as of Nárada—town life in that is prominent, and there is less attention to agriculture, but on the whole the relative attention to different subjects is much the same as in Babylon. What marks out the Indian law is that procedures and principles occupy as much space as the laws: whereas in Babylonia they are ignored, and it is assumed that the judge settles such matters. The general similarity of subjects makes it the more instructive to look at the contrasts of Indian and Babylonian law. In India "women's business transactions are null and void . . . women are not entitled to make a gift or sale" of real property. "Three persons, a wife, a slave, a son, have no property; whatever they acquire belongs to him whose

they are." In Babylon any property given to a wife was at her entire disposal within her family; and if a woman took a vow of a single life, she had entire disposal of any property which was given her on those terms, and of the property which she might accumulate by trade. In India marriages of relations were prohibited to the seventh degree of the father's side, the fifth degree of the mother's. In Babylonia there were no prohibitions beyond the direct descent, and the step-mother or daughter-in-law. Thus, both in women's property and in marriage Babylonia was much nearer to Egypt than to India. On the other hand, adoption, which was so important in Roman law, was also prominent in Babylonia, and yet seems unknown in Egypt. It can hardly be attributed, therefore, to the importance of ancestral offerings, as such were more important in Egypt than in Rome. The wide field of comparative law has gained much from this extensive code of nearly 250 laws, placed in classified order. Yet this must not be taken as a composition of the lawgiver, any more than the codes of Theodosius or Justinian or Napoleon. The earlier Sumerian laws were also codified, and the work of Hammurabi was rather the combination and reconciliation of Sumerian and Semitic law. The former was the law of commerce and agriculture; the latter was the law

of theft, slavery, violence, and pastoral life, as is shown by the resemblances in these subjects to Hebrew law. Thus, even apart from the evidence of the earlier tablets of Sumerian laws, it would be possible to separate the two sources of the code with good reason.

At the latter part of the code there are fifteen laws anticipating the great edict of prices by Diocletian. The rates of hire of animals and carts, and rates of labourers' and artisans' pay, are all fixed, but there is no interference with prices of goods. The unexpected valuation is that an agricultural labourer was paid more than an artisan or a boatman. The hire of two cows was equal to that of a boatman, or of two plough oxen equal to that of a field-hand. The great scarcity of metals is surprising: a day's wages was only from 3 to 5 grains weight of silver, which was thus more than a hundred times its present value. Such was, however, the mediæval wage in England. The limitation of wages suggests that, like our statute of labourers, it was ordained to meet a rise in wage, due to increased supply of metals and greater welfare. Such a change was probably the result of the security and prosperity of the good administration of Hammurabi; as, similarly, wages have doubled in Egypt in our generation, by the benefits of the British occupation.

While the Semites were fully open to adopting all the older civilization of the Sumerians whom they had conquered, and carried on the business and the literature into their own system of things, yet there was throughout the land the token of their supremacy, in the hereditary feodaries, who held estates on conditions of serving the king when called on in peace or in war. They were originally soldiers, planted over the land to keep it in order; and they doubtless, like all such occupiers, gradually mixed with the earlier population, and transformed their control from being an alien to being a class rule. This did not at all imply that the Sumerians were "a dying race," as has been said. They were far too tough for that; the civilization was theirs, the business habits were theirs, and they persisted just as the Egyptian has persisted, in spite of the Semitic conquest and mixture of the Arab. The proof of this is that in the fifth century B.C. the most usual type among the foreign traders in Memphis was the Sumerian, exactly as he appeared three thousand years before on his own monuments. I am told that the type is still prominent in Babylonia.

The worst blow that the Sumerian ever had was the Hittite invasion in 1926 B.C. which broke up the dynasty of Hammurabi. This produced a destruction somewhat like the Mongol storms of

later ages, and many of the old city-states—the homes of Sumerian culture—were devastated and never reoccupied. This is parallel to the ruin of some Etruscan cities by the Gothic and Lombard invasions, although they had lasted through the age of the Romans who absorbed their civilization; or like the Greek cities afterwards Roman, which were desolated by the Saracens. Such sites are by far the most promising for excavations.

It was, however, the Semitized type of Sumerian civilization that survived, and rose again into prominence under the Kassite rulers. Hammurabi's dynasty had made its mark permanently in establishing Babylon as the capital, and henceforward Babylon, or its local successors, Ctesiphon, Seleucia, and Baghdad, have been the capitals of the Tigris and Euphrates.

In looking back a further stage, we pass beyond all that was even slightly known in Classical and Biblical history. We have to trust to piecing together the single morsels of one generation or another, when we deal with the Sumerian history.

Some three centuries before the age of Hammurabi we meet another considerable figure—that of Gudea, the Sumerian prince of Lagash or Tell Lo, whose works came to light in the excavations of De Sarzec. This reign not only

claims notice by the life-size statues of black diorite, now in Paris, but still more because Gudea was an originator who gave much attention to artistic works. He collected materials from the Syrian mountains and from Elam; he claimed a divine vision showing him the plan of his temple, which he describes; his seated figures have on the knees of one a drawing-board with a plan of a building, on another a board with a divided cubit feather-edge scale, and a graver; he further made special bricks ceremonially; and he claims to have started new features in building that were unknown before. All of this is the aspect of a rising art, extending its resources of material and of style. No other royal architect in any age seems to have taken so personal a part in architectural affairs. He was influenced by the Semitic theism, and expelled the sorcerers who belonged to the older Sumerian animism. His rule was firm and prosperous. If we were to excavate not only the temple but the city of his period, a rich reward of artistic work of his age might probably be obtained. Near this period is another Sumerian prince, Dungi of Ur. He specially favoured the city of Eridu, in which was one of the oldest shrines of the Sumerians, and this earlier population seems to have risen into predominance over the Semite. He does not show the same

artistic zeal as Gudea, but he asserted Sumerian supremacy by extending his power from the shore on the Arabian side, up the Euphrates to Babylon, and across the Tigris to Susa and Elam. As a political figure he is of the first rank; and the finely engraved cylinders and exquisitely written tablets of his records show the high condition of work at that time. He unified the weights and established standards in the country, which were respectfully copied down to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. This last flowering of independent Sumerian culture demands much fuller examination. The city sites should be thoroughly searched, not merely tunnelled and scraped over for tablets, but thoroughly cleared in a systematic way, for the recovery of all the objects of daily life and the revealing of the whole civilization.

Before we look back to still earlier ages we must notice the general question of the distance of time. Within the last generation a school has risen in Germany which claims to set aside the most positive statements of ancient records in favour of its internal consciousness. As the most prominent exponent said to me, " I cannot believe the time was so long." That is sufficient for these theorists and their followers, to rewrite ancient history by their sense of probability, no matter what the documents may say. From the

recorded age of Egypt over two thousand years is deducted, from that of Babylonia nearly as much. It is all reduced to a question of modern belief and not of ancient evidence. An interesting test has lately come to light. The historian Berosos, writing in the third century B.C., with all the remains of Babylonian history before him, had placed the first dynasty of Babylon as beginning in 2232 B.C. This is how he was treated: "It is safer to treat the date 2232 B.C. as without significance." "The recent reduction in the date of the first dynasty of Babylon is necessitated by the proof" that those dynasties were partly contemporary. "The date of Hammurabi has been fixed to somewhere between 1950 and 1900 B.C. (to the confusion of Nabonidus' Babylonian scribe) or 2050 B.C. for the beginning of the first dynasty of Babylon." All of this very peremptory and dogmatic statement was immediately contradicted, by the astronomical reckoning from tablets recording the positions of the planet Venus in the month and year (K. B.). These tablets proved a fixed date in 1977 B.C., from which the start of the Babylonian dynasties would be in 2225 or 2229 B.C., or only seven years, or less, different from the record of Berosos. All the positive assertion of superior knowledge has vanished, and the record is proved correct.

This flagrant example of destroyed dogmatism renders us suspicious of the following dogma. The record of Nabonidus states that the great king Naram-Sin, whom we shall next notice, lived 3,200 years before, or in 3750 B.C. In spite of this clear statement, we are assured that this date "has no authority whatever to support it." The German lops off a thousand years at his fancy, and assures us the scribe has made an error. What is there to set against the ancient statement? We are told that "palæographic evidence makes it impossible." This vaguest of criteria, the rate of change of style, is supposed to be worth more than any clear statements of ancient documents. How many years elapsed between the fifth and the twenty-sixth dynasty sculptures in Egypt? between the second-century and sixteenth-century inscriptions in Italy? between the Roman monuments on the Mainz and Albert Dürer? On palæographic or artistic grounds probably not a couple of centuries could be allowed in any of these instances, yet we know that the interval was really over a thousand years in all these cases. There is no greater fallacy than imagining probable intervals of time from artistic resemblances. A positive statement must be accepted, until some more precise and cogent fact may supersede it. Therefore, until better information is obtained, we

accept what the Babylonians believed, as the least improbable statement, and take Naram-Sin as reigning 3750 B.C.

This clears away what would otherwise be a great difficulty. If the date 2750 B.C. were adopted, and 2100 for Hammurabi, with Gudea between, it would imply a continuity of high art for 650 years. Such a continuity is—I believe—unknown in any country; every land has seen the rise and the fall of art in such a space of time. When the ancient reckoning of 3750 B.C. is accepted the interval to Gudea is 1,300, to Hammurabi 1,600 years, and such is about the usual interval between successive civilizations.

The age of Sargon and Naram-Sin stands in relation to later Babylonian history much as the age of Pericles is to European history. It was the time of supreme art, and of founding the standards of subsequent thought and action (K. S.). It is to us, therefore, the most interesting and important age of the whole Eastern world. That the position of Sargon was of the highest importance is stated in the Chronicle of the Kings: " Sargon of Agadé, through the royal gift of Ishtar, was exalted, and he had no foe nor rival. His glory over the world he poured out . . . and over the hosts of the world he reigned supreme." Though his old age was

troubled by rebellion, his son Naram-Sin fully re-established the dominion. The events of Sargon's life were accepted as the types of cause and effect, and formed the basis of the system of omens down to the end of Babylonian history.

The triumphal monument of Naram-Sin (D. M.) is the earliest example of the full freedom of art and expression in Asia. No later monument of Babylon or Assyria so nearly agrees with the Western style of sculpture and ideal of action. The vigour, the spirit of motion, the open-air feeling, the composition symbolizing the ascent of a wooded mountainous region without losing any reality—all this places the art of Naram-Sin among the great examples of human expression.

Fragments of other scenes of this age are of the same character. This great advance must be attributed to the fusion of the Semite and Sumerian races, for it is always a race-fusion that results in an advance of art and other forms of civilization. On the scene of triumph Naram-Sin is a bearded Semite, while most of his warriors are shaven Sumerians. The same contrast is seen on the scene of triumph of Narmer in Egypt, at the rise of Egyptian art; the king and his servant are shaven, and the warriors are all bearded. The scene of Naram-Sin had been removed to Susa, but lesser pieces of

sculpture were found at Tell Lo. It is to the early Babylonian cities, and specially to Agadé, the capital of Sargon, somewhere west of Baghdad, that we must look for more remains of this grand age. There is no research more promising and more desirable than the recovery of the finest period of Asiatic art, by the side of which the sculptures of Assyria seem merely clumsy and bombastic. Our search may spread wide, for Naram-Sin has left sculptures as far north as Diarbekir in Armenia, east of Cappadocia, though perhaps his best artists were not sent to such distances; also Sargon may have left his work far to the west, as he conquered kings of the Amorites or Northern Syria, and set up monuments of his power.

Before the grand age of Sargon we have to do with a different world, purely Sumerian, in which the interest is less in the art, and more in the ideas and system of life. In dealing with this age we must remember how very different was the nature of the country. The alluvial deposits of the rivers have pushed the shore-line of the Persian Gulf continually farther south. Forty-seven miles of land has been added since Alexander. Eridu, now a hundred and sixty miles from the coast, was on the sea about 2500 B.C. Lagash, Tell Lo, was, however, already built in the time of Sargon. According to these

ERRATUM.

Page 69, line 2, *for* 2000 B.C., *read* 7000 B.C.



data the site of Babylon cannot be older than about 2000 B.C., so it is useless to expect anything of the early neolithic or oldest population in the plain south of that. In the time of Naram-Sin Susa looked down on the Persian Gulf, and was therefore only accessible by a shore route from Babylonia.

In the Sumerian civilization metals were familiar. The Copper Age goes back to the earliest cemeteries known, as it did also in Egypt; and it continued down to Gudea, and perhaps Hammurabi, also in accord with its date in Egypt. The two different ideographs used for copper have been supposed to show the use of copper and bronze; but it is more likely that they refer to native copper hammered into shape, and smelted copper from ore cast into shape. Both sources of copper were used in early times, the native copper distinguished by the bulgy outlines of the forms, the cast copper by flat planes or by relief ornament. The copper figures found beneath temples as a foundation deposit, were perhaps the permanent representatives of foundation sacrifices; an actual sacrifice would decay and disappear—the copper figure of it was permanent, as the sculptured offerings of the Egyptian also were permanent. Copper was used extensively for arms; the spears and helmets of the troops of Eannatum (D. M.) show a free

use of metal, and a ready adaptation of it in beaten forms. We should never suspect from objects known to us that the helmet was so commonly used then, or in early Crete, were it not for the Eannatum sculpture and the Boxer vase of Hagia Triada. These show how very incomplete is our knowledge of the ancient civilizations, especially in those subjects which were not figured on monuments. We need vastly more material before any argument can be based on the absence of any object, or a blank in the history of art. Warfare was much developed, as the troops of Eannatum are represented in close phalanx formation covered by an overlapping row of tall shields, between which project rows of long spears, like the Macedonian *sarissa*. This type of fighting was adapted for the wide flat plains, in which it could move compactly.

War was looked on as a struggle of the gods, the real powers, of whom men were only the instruments. It is even said that the god of an enemy city commanded the enemy to attack the narrator; and it is the gods who draw up treaties and make peace with each other. This habit of Sumerian thought is also found in Egypt, where the early wars are all described as conflicts of the gods—that is to say, of the tribes who worshipped those gods and by whom they were com-

manded. The triumph was—as in Egypt—recorded on a gigantic sculptured mace-head, which was dedicated in the temple of the victorious god. Another similarity to Egyptian usage lies in the indications of royal descent in the female line. On the large tablet of King Urnina, perhaps 4000 B.C., the principal figure is his daughter, followed by four of his sons. Later on, in an Elamite dynasty, kings are said to be "sons of the sister" of a predecessor; and whether this is literal, or only "used in the sense of a descendant" as has been said, it shows a parallel to well-known cases elsewhere of rights going through a sister and not a direct descendant. Another Egyptian parallel is in the naming of each year from the principal event of the year. All of these resemblances—as we shall presently see—are most likely due to a common ancestry in Elam.

The most permanent achievement of the Sumerian was the establishment of the commercial system and of sexagesimal division. The accounts, partnerships, loans, pledges, partition of profits, credit for goods, and other formulas of modern commerce, are all descended from the Sumerians. So far as we can see, the Semitic Jew showed no special trading capacity until after his captivity in Babylon, which produced such deep and permanent changes in his out-

look and life. It was the Babylonian trader who was the figurehead of commerce when our written history formed its stock-phrases. Syria became Babylonianized, as the cuneiform correspondence shows; the Phœnician took up the system and became the teacher of Greece, Carthage, and Spain. The Roman, innocent of wealth when he began conquering, soon became the most ravenous of plunderers and usurious of lenders; and Europe has copied him since. Sumer is the home-land of the trading system. Every clock-face descends from the astronomy of the Sumerian, who divided the day by twelve, as the year is divided in twelve months. Every compass card also shows the division by 360°, copied from the days in the year. The Sumerian tradition could not even be broken up by the fanatic decimalization under the French Republic; and it will be a troublesome time for our money system if we abandon a division by six and twelve, founded in Nature, in favour of the artificiality of pure decimals.

The earliest Sumerian remains yet known seem to be in some cemeteries at Fara and Abu Hatab, about half-way between Basra and Baghdad. The bodies were always lying on the side, contracted, as in prehistoric Egypt. They have weapons, tools, drinking-cups and food vessels, beads and ornaments. Cylinder seals were used,

and writing was already known, as a few tablets with an extremely early form of characters were found in the town. The whole of this civilization should be thoroughly examined, and completely published with full registration of all the graves, as has been done by English work in Egypt. So far, only incomplete studies have been made at any Mesopotamian site. In most cases a ruinous system of trenching and pitting has wrecked the historical evidence, and hindered future work. Complete clearances, such as those made in Egypt, should be the rule in future, beginning at one edge of a site and turning over everything in it, layer by layer, till the diggers finish at the opposite edge. Only in this way can the whole material be secured, and recorded in its proper historical connection. Where there is not a great depth of superimposed buildings, there is no difficulty in complete working.

Lastly, we turn to the home whence this civilization seems to have arisen. Elam, bordering the Tigris on the east, is best known by its capital Susa, keeping guard on the main entry into the mountainous region. We meet here with a civilization strongly linked with that of Sumer, but yet having various independent elements. Though cuneiform writing was mainly used, there was a different and independent system before the Semitic conquest by Ham-

murabi, along with a decimal numeration, instead of the Babylonian sexagesimal.

The best-known results from Susa are the monuments which were taken there from Babylonia as spoil of war, the code of laws of Hammurabi, and the triumphal scene of Naram-Sin; but those are only adventitious, and the real importance of Susa itself lies in its earliest levels. The great mound consists of 80 feet depth of ruins, city piled on city. The topmost 26 feet contain the buildings of 4,000 years, 4500–500 B.C. Below that is double that thickness of ruins, and who can reasonably grant for that less than double the time? If so, we range back there from 4000 to 12000 B.C. Altogether thirteen successive rebuildings can be traced in the whole depth of the mound, averaging, therefore, about 900 years apart. At a depth of 65 feet, perhaps 8000 or 10000 B.C., there is a stratum with roughly painted pottery, and rudely cut seals. But on reaching the bottom the great surprise is to find finely made thin wheel-turned pottery, painted with an abundance of geometrical patterns. Happily a cemetery of that same age has been found, and has supplied a great quantity of this fine pottery quite perfect. This shows that even Susa is by no means the beginning of civilization; that its oldest levels were in a high state of culture.

This age is further marked by flint working of characteristic Solutrean forms; and such would agree with the fact that the rather later age of prehistoric Egypt shows Magdalenian forms of flint working. In Egypt the Solutrean style is only found on the open desert, and has never in a single case been found in graves. The result from the archæological position, therefore, would be to date roughly the Magdalenian to about 6000 to 9000 B.C., and the Solutrean to 9000 to 12000 B.C. Such dates would be probably halved by the German antiquaries, or doubled by the geologists. We may be well content, therefore, to leave them at this, as the least improbable statement for the present.

As Egypt only rose to pottery-making in the Magdalenian stage, while Susa was making and painting fine pottery in the Solutrean stage, it is evident that Elam was a whole cycle ahead of Egypt in its development.

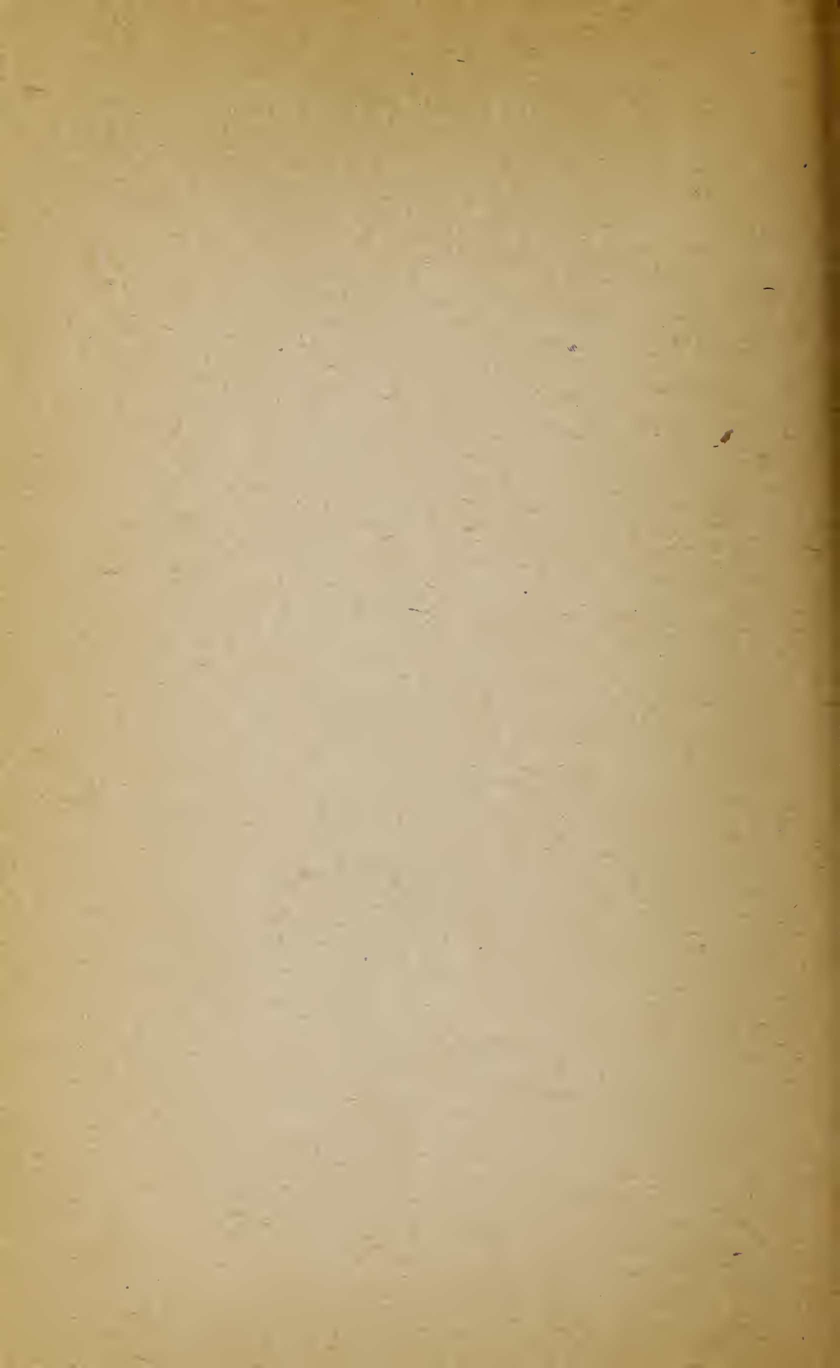
Now this agrees with one of the greatest recent discoveries. An ivory handle with a flint knife was found in Egypt, but of entirely non-Egyptian work (A. E., 1917, 26). The flint knife is known by its work to belong to the middle of the second prehistoric age, say about 6500 B.C.: but the Egyptians were at that stage far behind the style of this handle in their carving. The decisive point on the handle is the figure of a hero

grappling a lion on each side of him. He wears a long coat, a cap with turn-up brim, and has a full beard. Obviously this is a cold-country type, and the subject of a hero between lions is certainly Persian. The cap is like that worn by Gudea. The lions are cold-country lions with heavy manes and chest fur. The only conclusion seems to be that this is a mythologic type brought from the highlands of Elam. The rest of the carving of the animals is exquisite, and has seldom been rivalled, never surpassed. There is here the work of a supreme school of art, originating in Elam, and a whole cycle earlier than the fine ivory carving of the first dynasty in Egypt.

To find this school in the earliest Elamite remains is one of the most urgent matters in the history of art. There must be a whole class of fine work leading up to this and following it, and Elam is the ground for discovering it. Outside of modern Persia it might be well to examine what was the old shore of the Persian Gulf along the foot of the mountains west of Susa, as that would be a likely place for early settlements.

We have now reviewed the many problems of history and of art which await proper research in Mesopotamia. Without timely control much will be ruined, and much will be rendered inaccessible by private claims that are sure to arise. We

need to step in at once, and secure, before it is too late, the grand field of human history which lies before us. It will take several generations of excavators before it is fully examined, and it is the great responsibility which has fallen upon us to resume the work so actively begun two generations ago, and securely to control private speculation and greed, in the interest of scientific work. Eighty years ago England began the exploration with two paddle-steamers; now we have the flotilla of Yarrow steamers on the Tigris, we should similarly expand our care for history as well as for political results.




THE FUTURE



THE FUTURE

In the midst of enormous political uncertainties it may seem quite premature to discuss what our future course should be in peace. But we are already pledged to a definite course politically, if we can succeed in controlling it. The British Government is committed to the principle of a Jewish State in Palestine, and therefore the questions that must arise in such a course are by no means barred. It is also committed to the principle of an independent rule in Mesopotamia, and therefore the present Turkish law would be also superseded there.

We may be asked why we should be in a hurry to consider administrative questions; let them arise in future, and be dealt with when they arise. We have already followed this course in Cyprus and in Egypt, with disastrous results. It is to prevent the recurrence of such disasters in the other centres of ancient civilization, for which we may be responsible, that we must consider the necessary conditions in good time. If we wait until the scandals of destruction are

known to all, we shall wait until it is too late to do our duty.

The importance of the questions of conservation is even more urgent than it was in other countries. The custody of the Holy Places has been the most burning question of piety, of fanaticism, and of intrigue, among the Christian Powers, and is in most cases complicated by the Jewish and the Turkish claims. To leave this fermenting mixture to the mere chances of casual possession or action would be folly. To leave the destruction of the great centres of our early civilization to the mere chance of profitable exploitation would be behaving like the beasts that perish. As Epictetus says, the cattle at the market think of nothing but the fodder, and possessions and prosperity are the mere fodder of man; if he thinks of nothing but them, how is he better than the cattle? If we are to have no interests beyond those of animals, how can we justify our human existence? The growth of the mind of man, how he has achieved his present control of nature, how his knowledge and ability has fluctuated, is of obvious interest to every intelligence above mere fodder. It is this history which lies in our hands in the East, and which it is our duty to conserve. *Real politik* is the enemy of the human mind, as its concerns are only those of animals.

The present position is a turning-point, where we have a clear field for reasoned action, and where those by whom the mistakes of the past have occurred are no more—I shall not name them. Moreover, owing to the war, their successors have not yet shown their intentions, and thus we cannot contradict them. Perhaps the official mind may sometimes be typified by its action at Delhi in dropping the Koh-i-nur into the waistcoat pocket and forgetting all about it, until humbly asked if the stone is wanted.

We may hope to see an efficient management established if the preliminary proclamation by the late Sir Stanley Maude in Mesopotamia is properly followed up, and not allowed by apathy to lapse, like so many good preliminaries started by able men. As that proclamation has been little—if at all—noticed in England, I may state its scope: (1) The rights of the Ottoman Government in all antiquities are transferred to the new Administration. (2) Antiquities mean everything before A.D. 1500. (3) Information of discovery of antiquities must be given within thirty days, under penalty. (4) Anyone appropriating things discovered may be fined up to ten times the value. (5) Any negligent or malicious damage of any kind may be heavily fined. (6) No traffic in antiquities is allowed without license, under heavy fine (7) All forgery, or

sale of forgeries, is liable to heavy fine, and confiscation of stock. (8) On reporting discoveries the owner shall be duly compensated for the value if the objects are taken; if not required by the Administration a certificate will be given that it may be sold. (9) The Chief Political Officer is the authority for this Administration.

All this is admirable, and could not be bettered as a code for a military occupation. But that does not imply that it is perfect as a permanent code for civil life. What we should consider—now that the first step has been taken—is how the requirements can be met, subject to the normal conditions of intercourse, trade, and the permanent preservation of history. We will notice the various kinds of responsibility separately.

A. Monuments.

The most obvious of all duty is the conservation of known monuments. There are many causes of destruction; the most evident is the demand for materials. The temple on Elephantine—one of the most perfect in Egypt—was cut to pieces to build a powder magazine. The triumphal arch and colonnades of Antinoe were carried off to build sugar works. The complete Roman camp at Alexandria was pulled to pieces to build a palace, abandoned as a useless toy

soon after. The Roman houses in Mareotis are being used as quarries to build new farms. The brick buildings throughout Egypt are sold as materials by the Department of Antiquities, for a trifling fee from the destroyers; so perishes early Christian Egypt. Roman marble columns were in request by the late Khedive for garden rollers. Every piece of stone that is unearthed is used for building or burnt into lime.

Another cause is the vicious demand for fragments of monuments, mainly by the tourist, but also fostered even by national museums. The sculptured rock halls of the tombs at Beni Hasan and Tell Amarna, that have stood unharmed for thousands of years, were attacked, and the finest pieces cut out of them, with the collateral destruction of much more. The most beautifully sculptured tomb at Thebes had the best parts prized away—now in Berlin. Another, a painted tomb, was wrecked, and its fragments are in Florence. The most beautiful of the early sculptured tombs was ruined, and the broken fragment of the best part is in the British Museum. These pieces have all been obtained with open eyes, knowing quite well how they were stolen, and what damage was done for this filthy lucre.

Another cause of destruction is sheer thoughtlessness of those responsible. The largest fresco

pavement known, almost perfect, more than three thousand years old, was discovered by me, and carefully housed and preserved, without costing the Government anything. No provision was made by the authorities for proper access to it by visitors; and so the end came when the natives smashed it to pieces, to avoid being troubled by tourists. The rock monuments of Sinai, some of the most important known, dating from the pyramid kings, were left to be destroyed by a commercial company, duly licensed to work by the Government. Of a very fine sculptured tomb which I found, the official decision declined the removal of it to museums for safety, yet gave it no protection; within three years it was wrecked by dealers.

Now these are only little samples of what is constantly going on throughout Egypt, in spite of a supposed protection by officials. Unless a very different kind of conservation is provided, the same state of wreckage will go on throughout Syria and Mesopotamia. The state of those countries will not remain as hitherto under Turkish apathy and obstruction. Fresh activities, new interests, rapid exploitation, will happily ensue, on security of life and property being gained. But all this spells destruction to history if proper and efficient steps are not taken in time. We cannot shut our eyes; the

examples are abundantly before us; a sin of omission is as deadly as a sin of commission; and the man who will not protect things from inevitable attack is just as much a barbarian as if he melted up Charles at Charing Cross, or took the coffin of Edward I. for a horse-trough.

The towns of Roman Age in North Syria and the Hauran are still in marvellous preservation. In South Syria I have walked through a Roman town still in full use, and seen a great hall with the stone roofing still perfect. All this must not be left to be destroyed, as the Circassian settlers have destroyed Turmanin and the other Roman churches. Perhaps the most practical course would be to encourage the re-roofing and occupation of buildings when possible, with prohibition of alteration by the tenants. Whatever policy is adopted, it is useless to issue it in an official journal, which no one reads except officials. A travelling Inspector should visit each such place, summon the headmen, proclaim that digging or damage will be punished, and leave a rough large-scale plan in bold writing, defining the Government reservation. In many cases it would be better to pay a subsidy to the local authority, rather than spend the money on an ineffective guard.

The whole question of the Holy Places is more complex. It cannot be left to sectarian crimes,

such as the destruction of the monuments of the Latin kings of Jerusalem by the Greek Church a century ago. Nor can any of the sites be left to be appropriated by a sect, with rights of alteration and destruction. The best hope seems to be in a guard of mixed nationality, not ecclesiastical, appointed by the Board of Antiquities: this would give the greatest freedom of access by all religions, while preventing damage by the exclusive claims of any one party.

B. Sites.

Not only do visible monuments require protection, but also the invisible. Beneath each of the innumerable mounds that dot the landscape in Syria and Mesopotamia there are buildings more or less perfect. Sometimes an entire building has become earthed over, twenty or fifty feet underground, by later houses. All of these buildings need preservation, and cannot be left to be quarried out as mere masonry. In Egypt most of the ancient sites have been claimed by land grabbers within living memory. One great town site of mounds has been appropriated bit by bit, without being of the least use to the claimants. It cannot be cultivated, being too high and hilly; it has only been claimed as a matter of grab, each person wishing to fore-

stall another. Yet the day that any attempt is made to clear the ancient temple within it, the claimants put in their assumed rights and stop work. Now this sort of useless and obstructive possession will at once grow in any country which is unguarded. The top of every heap of ruins will have a squatter putting up a shanty at his fancy, and claiming the whole place. Officials will not take the trouble to assert Government rights in land, as it is a distasteful worry to do so. When once a private claim is begun the mischief is done. The Egyptian Government has only very tardily and feebly ejected squatters, even from the rock tombs of Thebes; and when once there is a question of nationality involved, as in some Levantine drink-shop, no one will trouble to meddle with it. When Ismayl Pasha wished to clear the Ezbekiyeh as a public square for Cairo, he was met by dozens or hundreds of vested interests in little shanties of drink-shops and cafés. He took the only practicable course. A few of them mysteriously caught fire one night; a few more the next night; again and again they vanished; until all the squatters retreated for fear of worse things happening.

Beside the obvious mounds of ruins there are the ancient cemeteries which may all be seized for private property. Such is the fate of the

cemetery of Heliopolis, now swallowed in the sandy wastes round villas, which are called gardens. The only way to protect these rights of future working and discovery is to send round an Inspector who knows an ancient site when he sees it, and for him to proclaim all such sites which are now unoccupied, mark them on a plan given to the headman, and make it quite clear to the neighbourhood that anyone using such land may be turned out without any rights whatever, by anyone else who likes to shift them. Rights are manufactured without hesitation in Egypt. A man claimed land as his of old, and pointed out a fine palm-tree to the Land Inspector as a proof of his long possession. On giving a push to the tree it fell over, for it was only a trunk which he had stuck in the ground the night before, to serve as evidence for inspection.

C. Accidental Discoveries.

The greater the activities in any country, the more discoveries will be made casually, in course of other work. Such discoveries should be encouraged, but controlled. They often lead to work of great importance, and no sort of check should be put on them. At present there is a fear of Government causing hardship by expropriation in Egypt, and a wish therefore to conceal

any ancient buildings that may be found. The course should be to induce all discoveries to be reported to the Inspector, by paying small rewards for information, and paying a full value in case of expropriation. For small objects that are movable the Inspector should pay a full local value, and full weight or more for gold and silver. Only by being the best buyer will he secure what is found. Any kind of repression loses far more than it gains. The difficulties of Government monopoly we notice farther on.

D. The Board for Antiquities.

The management of the antiquities necessarily must be controlled by a department; and so many interests and considerations are involved that a Board of Trustees seems needful to direct the policy. Such a Board should enact the by-laws for the control of the subject, in harmony with the requirements of other departments. The museum management and Inspectors should be responsible to the Board directly; while the local guards would be managed by the Inspectors. Every agent of the Board should be in the police force, with full powers.

The failure of protection in Egypt has been mainly due, not to the officials employed, but to the impossible condition of the laws and regu-

lations. When the head of the Department instituted seventy-five prosecutions for damage and theft, he only got three convictions. When the thief of a statue was tracked by his footprints, and full collateral evidence was obtained, he was acquitted at a cost of £40. It is useless to try any such cases like common thefts; the local court is not only corrupt in all its underlings, but it sympathizes with the thief, and will do nothing to hinder him. It is obviously undesirable that it should be needful to invite the judge to breakfast before a case comes on, in order to get a conviction. Yet a prudent Inspector will have to do so. The remedy is to put the judging of all such cases in the nominees of the Board for Antiquities. All offences should be first assessed by the Inspector; if the delinquent elects to pay the amount to the tax collector, the matter is closed; if he prefers to go before the judge named by the Board, he can do so.

The appointment of this Board should rest with the controlling Power or Powers. It need not be resident in the country, if there is a difficulty in finding fit persons who understand the subject. The functions being only to appoint agents and decide on policy, the knowledge of the members of the Board is the first consideration. For Palestine as a Jewish State the Board might consist largely of Jewish archæologists. Cele-

brated names of such rise to mind at once, in France, England, and other lands; men who would be above sectarian prejudice, and help to control the large interests involved, in a sympathetic spirit.

E. Direction of Research.

Unless a Government is ready for quite unprecedented expenditure, it is advisable to make use of the zeal and resources of archæologists of other countries. Even in Egypt, where all nationalities may work, the Government reservation would cost nearly a million to clear, and take several centuries at the present rate. Evidently long before that would be finished, lapses of management must occur, and everything be plundered anyhow. The only course is firmly and carefully to regulate all work on proper lines. We have seen in Egypt, under Government permission, clearances by plundering natives who mix up all they find and destroy its value, clearances by foreign museum agents to fill a museum without any record or publication, clearances with a record kept entirely private and results refused publication for ten or twenty years, clearances by speculators who are entirely ignorant of the meaning or importance of what they find or destroy. The mere

making of an official inventory, like a list of a dealer's shop, is almost useless. It leaves out of account all that gives value to the discoveries —the position, date, relation to other things, and local meaning.

In Cyprus our management has yielded equally bad results. Of the main plunderer it is said, "So far as his statements can be checked, they are inaccurate and misleading." Of another excavator there, "You never can believe anything he says." There was no check on the capability of the excavators, or on the permanence of their results.

Doubtless the public—and often the official—view is that so long as things are dug up, it does not matter how. Does the public know anything about the detail of electrical or biological research, or even how it digests its dinner? Does the public understand the researches that have subdued plague, typhus, and yellow fever? Just as little does the public understand the knowledge involved in scientific excavating: The familiarity with the minute variations of style and art, the sense of comparative art of all the regions in question; the memory of thousands of points of comparison; the chemical and mechanical care needed to preserve things; the incessant observation requisite for noting passing details on which the whole meaning may depend;

the necessity for understanding precisely the period and the meaning of everything as it is uncovered, of reading the results hour by hour, so as to know what next to look for, and what may be a critical detail, perhaps wiped out of existence in a few minutes of digging; the knowledge of the languages that may be met with; the incessant discipline of hundreds of workers, to ensure their care, attention, and fidelity, without which nothing can be done; the mapping of everything in detail—for instance, the temple foundations at Abydos required over 5,000 measurements to disentangle nine superimposed plans. Is it, then, to be supposed that the first person who comes along with a desire to dig can be allowed to do so without destroying much more than he preserves?

The first requisite to be demanded is that anyone managing excavations shall have already produced sound published work under the direction of a skilled manager. Secondly, that he record fully, and publish in full and detailed manner within two years. Thirdly, that everything found shall go to public museums, except great numbers of duplicates. The independent help of societies or wealthy men is to be welcomed if these conditions are observed. A uniform system of giving the full local value of antiquities to the workmen is essential. Without that

no care will prevent things being stolen. During some excavations it has been a scandal to see the dealers' shops full of sculpture and antiquities, obviously robbed from the site worked; and, by their removal, crippling the understanding and planning of the buildings. Almost every year gold is found in properly paid excavations, from tens to hundreds of pounds' worth; scarcely ever is gold known from excavations without full rewards. The best and finest things never reach the director's hands without giving full rewards.

F. Museum Administration.

An essential question that must be quickly settled is that of local or central museums. There must be much heavy material which will not be worth transport, or the expensive housing of a first-class museum; if a local museum is not provided, all this is lost. Yet it is a mistake to have mere dumping-places, to which everything that is not attractive is condemned. In the so-called museum at Mykenæ there were—perhaps still are—large boxes full of important bronze work left open under the tables, from Schliemann's excavations, unpublished and uncared for. All of this should have been properly made accessible to study, locally and in books.

The local museum cannot work well unless it has an efficient curator, or at least a fixed share in the work of such.

The mistake is usually made of spending money on architectural freaks, instead of on the proper housing and exhibiting of the contents of a museum. In Cairo a museum was to cost £80,000; by the incapacity of the architect £250,000 has been spent on it. The result is much worse for its purposes than might have been secured for £40,000 if spent legitimately in preserving collections. It is at present the grave of its contents, much of which can never be appreciated, or even seen, in the existing conditions. In almost all countries, even France and Italy, old buildings that are entirely unsuitable are used to house the National Collections. In England, where we have special museum buildings, architects have not yet found out the first principles required. There should not—and need not—be a single point in a museum without direct lighting, and no cross-light should be allowed. Dead walls between lights prove the incapacity of the designer. When suitable museum space is required let it be devised by an experienced curator, a photographer (for no one else understands lighting), and an engineer. If money suffices, an architect may then put a façade to the required building,

but must not be allowed to spoil the utility of it.

This needs saying after what has been done by purely British administration in Cyprus: "The British Government of Cyprus has hitherto spent nothing in maintaining, or even in properly storing, the Collections for which it is responsible. Many of them lay for years in the outhouses of the Commissioner's office in Nicosia, exposed to all kinds of ill-usage. . . . A large part of the Government Collection has lost almost all scientific value." The wreckage of destruction, losses, and waste described in the catalogue, is incredible if we suppose it to be the action of educated men. There is no prospect of any better fate for the history of Palestine and Mesopotamia, if a proper administration is not set up. If we will not, or cannot, understand it in our official minds, let us hand over all antiquities to American control; for there is no country where the utility and conduct of museums is better understood. We cannot claim the privilege of destruction, when other nations understand the privilege of conservation.

A most essential branch of museum work is publishing. It is unfortunately very little understood. Most museums never publish their contents efficiently. The Leyden Museum has done better than any other, both in its old works and

in those now in progress. The publication of museums is all the more essential now that any building may be wrecked by aircraft, or ruthlessly plundered, as the Serbian, Rumanian, and Russian museums. A director of publishing should know everything about processes, prices, and the book-market, and have control of all publications, both official and by outside excavators. He should also publish by supplying casts and electrotypes readily. A very desirable course would be to have ten or twenty sets of electrotypes of all the gold and silver work of ancient art in each country, and exchange them among all great museums, so that the inevitable plundering and destruction which falls so heavily on intrinsic valuables should not destroy scientific study in the future. Half a dozen museums have been robbed of all their gold-work in twenty years, and the losses in Russia and elsewhere at present, by public and private robbery, cannot yet be guessed.

G. Government Monopoly.

In many countries the Government claims a monopoly of all antiquities, as in Greece and Turkey; or a modified monopoly, as in Egypt, where claims are facultative; or as in Italy, where private possession is allowed, but not export

without permission; or as in Britain, where gold and silver that has been hidden is treasure-trove to the Government, but not when it has been lost. It may be safely asserted that every Government loses by such restrictions. It is solely a question of money. Each Government could secure all it claims by payment instead of by force. Its claims serve to establish an extensive and able secret service for export. And the prohibitions only serve to retain things which are not worth the expense of using this secret service. No prohibitory laws can retain the things which will pay to export. You may buy a full-sized bronze chariot in Rome, and contract to pay on delivery in Paris; and it comes as a matter of business. You may agree to buy a large picture, and it crosses the frontier in the roof of an omnibus. You may walk through the Greek customs with a priceless vase—if you put a plant in it and a pink paper round it. There is not a great museum that is not fed by illegal channels, which it knows and trusts. If the prohibitive laws do not retain the best things, they are worse than useless; for if there were a free supply of the second best, it would often check the foreign demand for the finest.

The claims of a Government to seize upon discoveries are still more unworkable. In Italy a

Commission is appointed to keep watch on excavations. Such a Commission could not prevent a large jar of thousands of gold coins, which was found in the Palatine excavations, from passing at once into the dealers' hands. Such a Commission was useless when the burial—supposed of Theodoric—was found in golden armour at Ravenna; only one little fragment of that splendid treasure was recovered. In England we know of the reports of a great treasure found on the field at Battle, perhaps from the time of the invasion, perhaps from the monastic shrine; we know of the report of the walled-up crypt at Canterbury, and the sudden wealth of the one man who had access to it. Was that the treasure store of Becket's shrine? But we do *not* know of the great majority of such discoveries, which go at once to the melting-pot. A little has been done in relaxing such claims by the Government, but not enough to gain the confidence of the finders in general. Even public museums have to agree to evade the law, and do so openly, as in the case of jewellery found in London. The actual profit to the State is trivial, the loss is immeasurable. The only successful course is that of an M.P. in a cathedral city, who makes friends with all the workmen in the place, and buys illegally everything that is found, so as to preserve it from the melting-

pot. When the evasion of the law is felt to be the only right course, by public bodies and by private men of high character, that law must pass away.

What best will preserve all discoveries, here and abroad, is the real question. I venture to urge a clean sweep of all the imaginary rights of the State and property owners over unknown possessions. Let us have a rule that the roughest can understand and obey, "Finding is keeping." In all legitimate working, let everything that is not already known to the State or property owner, be the property of the finder, provided that he declares it as soon as possible to the police, or a post-office, or an official. If not declared, let it belong to any informer who declares it. The Government should have a right of inspection, and make an offer if the object is required. If the offer be not accepted, then the only claim of compulsion would be that the object must be put up to public auction. Such is needful to prevent mere obstinacy entailing the eventual loss of things; but the price should go to the finder. Thus the finder would have every reason for publicity, instead of every reason for concealment as at present.

In carrying this out in the East, the organization of Inspectors should be the means of beating all dealers out of the market, by sheer competi-

tion. Let every Inspector be looked on as the best buyer, paying a full local price on the spot, and full weight of gold or silver. After selection at the museum, sell off the common things to tourists, and the fine objects which are not required sell by auction in London or Paris. By open competition leave no commercial footing for dealers; and the profit of sales would largely help the Department of Antiquities.

H. Terms for Scientific Excavation.

If it is the best policy for Government not to claim the whole, or a part, of casual discoveries that cost nothing, it is indefensible to claim the whole (as in Greece and Turkey) or a part (as in Egypt) of the produce of scientific excavation. For (1) such work is very costly when well done; (2) the country gets the full value of the things found, in the wages paid, on an average; (3) the proper publication is expensive; (4) all the brunt of the law falls on the authorized preserver of things, while the unauthorized plunderer goes free. Often have I been checked from following up a discovery by the precise legal limits of a permission, while the place has been wrecked at once by natives without any record, and the destruction of much of the material. This puts a premium on allowing native wrecking to go on,

and the European buying up the proceeds, instead of working openly. Any man who will sit still and profit by the illegal destruction, can have all he buys; if he works hard and spends freely on proper excavation he must part with half to the Egyptian Government. There are both types at work, especially Consular Agents.

What, then, can the Government claim from the people who honestly work in the open? They can get the profit of all buildings and fixed monuments, and of all large blocks of sculpture and statuary, that are not readily portable. They can retain the right of selection of everything found, on giving an equitable exchange from the objects which they do not require, or from sculptures. At present in Egypt half of every kind of object found is ordered by the Government to be retained. The things that for museums are of great value (as precisely dated material) are roughly halved, dividing up the groups which were found together; and the things are then sold by the Government to the tourist, who will give a fancy price for things authenticated by the museum. If a scientific excavator tries to keep his discoveries together, he must pay a ludicrous price—ten times the local value—because of the authenticity of

which he is the source. He is fleeced because he is doing conscientious scientific work. Nothing could better destroy the value of the excavations which are properly conducted. It is heart-rending, after paying for the excavations, and paying the workmen full local value for all the things found, to have to leave them without history or use as mere toys for tourists, because the Government demands from the finder a third purchase at a fictitiously inflated value for them. This is where no private benefit or profit is involved, but where the only beneficiaries would be public museums, which urgently want precisely authenticated and dated specimens. A few hundred pounds of profit by pandering to the tourist outweighs in official view all the scientific value that has been created by most careful excavation.

Such has been the course of British control in Egypt, and we have to try to avert such follies in fresh lands.

Further, the confidence of excavators must be retained, if they are expected to act honourably. False reports should not be circulated by officials; and applications to excavate should not induce the authorities to send down ignorant natives to wreck sites before a scientific excavation is permitted.

Whatever regulations are in force should be a *minimum* of claim. Where a would-be excavator belongs to a country which applies more rigorous laws, such laws should be applied to his work. It is absurd to put on the same footing the work done for a free country and that done for a country where there are stringent obstructions to such research.

J. Finance.

The possible finances of a Department of Antiquities and Museums should not depend on the casual opinion in a changing officialdom. In England—before the convulsive finance of the last decade—the Government museums cost $2\frac{3}{4}$ mills (thousandths) of the State revenue. This is without any cost of excavating or any staff to conserve monuments. It would only be reasonable to allow 4 mills, or 1d. in the pound of revenue, as the least which such a Department could work upon. This is only a third of the local rate for libraries and museums in England, beside the Crown taxes. If we suppose, say, a revenue of 10 millions, which is possible in Palestine and probable in Mesopotamia, that would mean a budget of £40,000. For either country this might supply:

	£
Director and 8 or 10 staff	5,000
Ten Inspectors and personal staff ..	6,000
One hundred local guards	3,000
Preservation of monuments	5,000
Excavating	2,000
Museum building	10,000
Libraries, of history and science ..	4,000
Science museums	5,000
Total ..	£40,000

As development proceeded, less would be required for building, and more could go to work in the country. The teaching of science is a separate matter, but a museum must be provided quickly, as a refuge for what would otherwise be lost. The reckless destruction of Babylonian antiquities by incompetent excavation must be brought to an end. We read: "The excavations . . . have been for the most part destructive rather than scientific; such objects as were wanted by the Museum were alone sought after; little or no record has been kept of their discovery. . . . The so-called excavations conducted by the Museum in 1880 were simply a scandal." We read of ancient magazines in Assyria full of coloured tiles, of iron tools and weapons, of pottery, of which hardly a specimen has reached Europe. Sixty-eight cases

of the finest Assyrian sculpture were sunk in the Tigris without any attempt to recover them. A whole boatload of sculptures and antiquities were likewise lost in the Nile. The search for literary remains, tablets, papyri, and inscriptions, has been conducted, both in Egypt and Mesopotamia, with utter disregard for all other antiquities or for any knowledge of the civilization or history.

Full publication must be insisted on for all excavations. At present a great deal has been done by America, Italy, and France, of which there is scarcely any record yet issued. Work goes on for ten or twenty years with scarcely an effort to render it of scientific service. Sometimes—as at Delphi—all those concerned die before anything is issued, and an account far from accurate has to be put together by strangers.

A vigorous and impartial organization is essential, if we would do our duty; and the staff outlined above would be the very least that could control the great interests which would be in their charge.

K. Jerusalem Problems.

The pledge of placing Palestine under Jewish management raises many problems. The idea is essentially an ethical one, and therefore it must

not blind us to other ethical views. While we cordially accept it, we must remember that the Amorite before, and the Arab after, have each occupied the land longer than the Jew has. The works of those other kindred races must each be respected. Then to all Christian nations the land is quite as sacred, as being that of the Jewish Head of the Church and His Disciples. These interests must equally be respected.

It is evident, then, that, so far as the control is in Jewish hands, it must be chosen so as to secure men of the right type. It will be equally Jewish control, and equally fulfil our pledges, if it be under Western business men from America, or patriotic historians as the Maccabeans, or ignorant Talmudists from Eastern Europe.

On the nature of the control exercised will depend the ideals aimed at. That there cannot be an ignoring of all that happened since previous Jewish rule, is evident. There cannot be a replacement of the proclamation of death to any Gentile who entered the court of the Temple. It is very questionable if there would be any restoration of a temple, of either Solomon's, Ezekiel's, or Herod's type. Is the Torah or the Talmud to be the rule of action ? Is the nation to be modelled on that of the kings, with free mixture with Gentiles ? Or that of the Egyptian Jews, as Philo, who repudiated Babylonian

casuistry? Or that of the Palestinian Talmud, or of mediæval Talmudism, or the Neo-Judaism of Bayswater? The Goyim have a different degree of sympathy with each of these ideals, and await anxiously to know what will be claimed. The questions have by no means been answered by the Jewish colonies in Palestine; those are only agricultural, they have never had free development, and they have not included the various types which will now arrive.

The nature of the dominant party of the new settlement is a crucial matter for the remains of past civilizations. A Wall Street broker would perhaps preserve nothing that did not conduce to modern profits; a Lemberg Talmudist would probably delight in wiping out all traces of the Canaanite or the Roman.

Ancient grudges must not be revived. The Samaritans have maintained their worship unbroken since the time of the kings. They represent the early capital of Shechem, the older Judaism before the later establishment of Jerusalem. They are the last representatives in place, of the tribes who joined in national worship under Hezekiah and Josiah. It was only the post-Babylonian Talmudic fanaticism that sundered the Jew of the Return from his ancient kindred of Israel. It is a nice question, which is the lawful successor of that Judaism which was

led away to Babylon—the Judaism of the kings and the prophets. There is no doubt that the Jew of Solomon or later kings was in attitude much nearer to the Samaritan of the Torah than he was to the later Jew of the Talmud. The Samaritan must have justice after 2,500 years, and be put in as full control in the Shechem region as the modern Jew is in Jerusalem.

As to the control of Holy Places, any Jewish state must expect large powers. Hebron is obviously of much greater importance to the Jew than to anyone else, and it should be entirely in Jewish hands, as containing the tombs of the patriarchs. In Jerusalem the Muhammadan claims are certainly inferior to those of Jew or Christian; and so long as Mecca and Medina are barred against Christians, so long Muhammadans cannot expect to share in the control of Jerusalem. We may hope to see that exquisite and unsectarian building the Dome of the Rock maintained as the best covering for a site that is venerated by many faiths.

The condition of the city of Jerusalem is an urgent problem to any new State. Much building will result from any increase of prosperity and population. Can anyone wish to build on the top of deep rubbish mounds, saturated with ages of residence, over ground tunnelled and cut up with cisterns, full of old sewage, and without

any chance of laying out a clear drainage? All modern notions of habitation and sanitation are against piling more on the top of the ruins of Jerusalem. If a large new population were to be placed on the old city they could see nothing of it, any more than the Londoner sees of Roman London. The people themselves will entirely obstruct the place which they venerate. Already a German is bewailing the necessary commercializing of Jerusalem.

The only clean course would be to extend a new suburb, either one to three miles down the Vale of Rephaim to the south-west, where the railway now is, or to a better site two miles north-west in the fine valley running down from Ramah, with water-supply entirely clear of Jerusalem. Electric trams would place either site within a few minutes' access of the city. The present city is not in a position at all adapted for any business or affairs; it is merely the successor of an inaccessible hill fortress. It had bad access and bad water. Its only claim is its historical and religious value to mankind. The best way to respect that value is reverently to place modern affairs on one side, in ground suited to present life. These new sites should be given to all who will move out of the Holy City to the suburb. A total prohibition of building in the old city would shift out the population in a

generation or so. The ideal could then be attained of clearing it all down to the Solomonic level, excepting the churches and important buildings. On the old foundations a rebuilding might be occupied by public offices, a few rest-houses for pilgrims, and a hospital where Jews could have the longed-for privilege of resting in their last hours.

Thus this little plot of rock within the walls, less than 200 acres, only a quarter of a square mile, could be reserved as the sanctuary of three faiths—a space for peace and meditation.

Let us not repeat the great mistakes made in building the modern Athens and modern Rome on the top of the ancient city, which gives the value to the site. If the great blocks of flats had been put a mile or two to one side as a new suburb, the past city would have been the pride and joy of the inhabitants. In Jerusalem this objection has still greater force, as its associations will clash painfully with all the growing needs of a new capital. Let Western Jerusalem be as convenient and busy as any growing city, supplying all the needs of the large population that will be drawn by the memories that will find their fulfilment in the city of Solomon, once more visible, treasured and beloved.

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